A LOOKING-GLASS FOR LOYALTY: OR THE SUBJECTS DUTY To his SOVERAIGN.

Being the ſubſtance of ſeveral Sermons preached by a perſon who always looked upon his Allegiance as incorporated into his Religion.

Publiſhed to promote that in others which in the worſt of times he practiſed himſelf.

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1 PET. 2. 13.

Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether to the King as ſupream.

S. Aug. contra Fauſt. Manich.

A Deo ſane ſive jubente ſive ſinente.

LONDON, Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the Gun at the Weſt End of St. *Pauls*. 1675.

To that unſpotted Pattern of Loyalty and true Generoſity,

GEORGE EVELIN, Sen.

Of

WOOTTON

In the County of

SURREY Eſq;

Honoured Sir,

Here preſent you with *A Loyal Looking-Glaſs*, which diſcovers what you and I, and all good Subjects ſhould be to their Royal Sovereign. I have taken the boldneſs to engrave your name on the cover of it, if you pleaſe to open

it, to preſent your ſelf before it, and examine your actions by it, ſo far as they relate to what is directed in it; you will ſee your ſelf the very ſame what others, overlooking you, have known and acknowledged you to be a *Loyal Subject*, which makes both for your credit and your comfort, although it hath bin heretofore laid in your diſh as your crime, by thoſe who maligned you for it, and ſought your ruine by it. But God be thanked, who gave you not over as a prey unto their teeth; that ſnare was long ſince broken, and you happily delivered.

It is not my intent by the Dedication of this Treatiſe to court you to its Patronage, which were in vain, and to no purpoſe; for if ever a Diſcourſe, for its ſubject-matter, could promiſe acceptance

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to its ſelf, and ſecurity to its Author, this one would think might do it to the higheſt pitch of confidence, in that it treats of the Higher Powers, yea the higheſt both in Heaven and Earth, God and the King; calling upon us to fear the firſt for himſelf, becauſe he is ſo; and his Vice-gerent (if not for his own perſonal merits yet) for his ſake that made him ſo. From the leaſt and loweſt of theſe I might expect in equity (but in all humility) that while I defend his Royalties with my Pen, he ſhould protect my perſon with his Sword: and the rather, becauſe whatever blows are made immediately at me, will in ſome ſenſe reach himſelf.

Periculoſum eſt in tum ſcribere qui poteſt proſcribere.

It hath been experimented that a Bullet piercing through a ſolid body, hath made the wound the

more dangerous, and its cure the more difficult, by reaſon of thoſe ragged pieces, and noxious ſplinters which it hath forced along before it. I ſhould willingly interpoſe my carkaſs between my King and danger, but it would grieve me more for him then for my ſelf, if it ſhould paſs through me and lodge it ſelf in that Royal Breaſt; more yet if that wound ſhould prove the more hazardous, as being made upon Majeſty, through the deſpicable ſides of ſuch an inconſiderable piece of mortality.

But however I may flatter my ſelf, I have cauſe to fear that theſe my hopes may fail me, ſith neither Majeſty nor Innocency it ſelf, can be a ſufficient ſhield againſt the envenomed Arrows of malicious Tongues; yet notwithſtanding one would think, that although

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ſome may be ſo fool-hardy as not to fear the King, who may kill the body, but can do no more; yet none could be ſo ſottiſhly ſtupid as to caſt off all fear of God, who can kill both body and ſoul, and caſt both into Hell; ſith never any one as yet hardned himſelf againſt him and proſpered. In reference to the one I look upon my ſelf as an inferiour Subject; under the other I am imployed by virtue of my Calling in a place of no ordinary truſt, being Gods Embaſſadour; and may expect indemnity by the Law of Nations. If any daring *Hanuns*, in the faithful execution of my Office ſhall defame me, as he deformed *Davids* ſervants, ſhaving off their Beards by halfs, and curtailing their Garments to expoſe their nakedneſs to publick view; they may

Mat. 10.28. *Job* 9. 4.

2 *Sam.* 10. 4.

well expect that God, whoſe Miniſter I am, ſhould reſent the affront as offered unto himſelf, and ſeverely revenge it, by wounding the heads of ſuch provoking enemies, and the hairy ſcalp of ſuch incorrigible ones as are reſolved to go on ſtill in their wickedneſs. So that if the one fail me becauſe he cannot, I am ſure the other can, yea I have it under his hand that he will protect me; he hath made me a firm promiſe that he will be with me, and having that, I neither care nor fear who they are that ſhall appear againſt me.

And yet for all this, we have lived in an Age in which that corrupt Judge hath ſome Fellows, and many more Followers; who neither fear God, nor reverence man. Which gives me a ſufficient *Item* to provide againſt thoſe ſtorms

which

which others have met with, who have embarqued themſelves in the ſame bottom; who for their charitable endeavours to cleanſe and heal mens feſtered ſores, have received the common Fee of galled backt Jades, a malicious and ungrateful kick. While they have ſought to reduce unruly Swine into a better order, they have raiſed a cry, and brought the whole Herd about their ears which have affronted them with their ſtubborn Biriſtles, and injured them as much as they could with their miſchievous teeth. And have I any hopes of ſpeeding better? but that when I hold before them my Glaſs they ſhould daſh it againſt the Walls; and when I offer them water to waſh their defiled faces, they ſhould caſt dirt into mine. And it is ſad to conſider what Advocates

Oſtendo illi lutum & aſpergit me luto, oſtendo illi ſpeculum & allidit parieti.

cates ſuch find among men of parts, who might do God and their King better ſervice, then by palliating other mens guilt, and ſo conſequently hardning them in thoſe ſinful courſes, from which they are bound by the Law of Chriſtian Love to do their utmoſt to reduce them, which would gain them more of love from God, and of reſpect from all good men; whereas they cannot reproach themſelves more, then by raking in the Chanel (as ſome have done) for the blackeſt dirt to beſpatter the reputation of pious and well-meaning perſons, who have ſought to inform them better.

If any ſhall have that in deſign againſt me, I ſhall ſave him the pains of a private ſcrutiny by a free and publick confeſſion, that I am the greateſt of ſinners; and

and am so far from sheltring my self in the Croud, or extenuating my sins with the usual plea, *I am not alone, there are as many sinners as men, because there is no man lives and sins not*; that I could heartily more then hopefully wish, that there were none so beside my self in the world. And if this will not satisfie, could I in the least think it would conduce to their good, or prove but a probable means to make them better, I would shame my self yet more; make my greatest Adversary my Confessor, and give him an exact Catalogue of all my particular failings, so far as my frail memory would serve me, and after all this do Penance in the largest sheet that either Pen can fill, or Penny purchase. For my part I never durst look on anothers errour as an excuse for my sin; and if any do upon mine

Fit plerumque ut dum iniqui in se mala defendere nequeant vitia contra vitam corripientis exquirunt, & eo se criminosos non existimant si crimina aliis imponant; qui cum vera invenire nequeant fingunt ut ipsi quoque habeant, quod non impari justitia increpare videantur. Greg. Mor. 10

mine for theirs, I fear they will find themſelves miſtaken in that *day, when every man ſhall give an account of himſelf unto God, and every individual offender ſhall be adjudged to bear his own burden.* Others may think my Nails too long, and to deſerve a paring to the quick, becauſe I have made ſo large an uſe of them; but theſe conſider not what an old overgrown thick skined Witch I have to deal with; and if I have ſcratcht her ſo deep as to make her bleed, it is not upon ſuſpition by way of trial, but upon ſufficient conviction, and in a way of revenge. She ſtands upon Re-
1 Sam. 15. 23. cord for one of old, and hath given us freſh inſtances to aſſure us that ſhe is as deeply in league with *Belzebub* as ever, and is not in the leaſt reformed; but hath within theſe few years exerciſed her devilliſh

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art in bewitching many thouſands of our fellow-ſubjects. It is her deſtruction and their cure that put me upon this project.

But laſt of all, and that which troubles me not leaſt of all, is the thoughts that I may hereby expoſe my ſelf to the cenſure, if not to the envy of my elder Brethren; who perhaps will impute it to *pride* and *vain-glory*, that ſuch a Stripling as I ſhould conceive any hopes with my ſling to proſtrate that great *Goliah*, who hath wrought ſo ſtrange a conſternation in the whole Army of *Iſrael*. But I dare appeal for my integrity to *God*, *the ſearcher of all hearts*, who is my witneſs that theſe Notes had never ſeen the light, had I in all my reading met with any Author in ſo great a ſurfeit of Books of all ſorts, who hath handled this ſubject in our

Native

Native Language so fully as it deserves, and as that great opposition which this Doctrine hath found in a few years both at home and abroad, hath rendred necessary. Neither have I published this as a *Supersedeas* to any mans good design and intention; but rather to excite them, being conscious to my self, that there are very many can do it better few worse.

...Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

And so, good Sir, I return to you, whom I have held in a long suspense, as to the chief ground of this *Dedication*; which is to revive the memory of your former favours to the unworthy Author, who owns and honours you as his loving and most obliging Patron: and hath given you this publick acknowledgment under his hand; so that if he should at any time fail to answer them to the utmost of his power,

power, you may have an *ex ore tuo* to ſtop his mouth, while you make uſe of this as a rod of his own making to ſhame him to the world, and to ſcourge him the more ſeverely for his ingratitude.

I confeſs I have exceeded the limits of an Epiſtle, but by its more then uſual length, I have ſaved the labour of a Preface. I ſhall therefore with-hold you no longer from the ſight of the *Glaſs*, wherein you will ſee *Loyalty* (ſo far as my poor skill would ſerve me) drawn to the life, and that old deformed Hell-hag *Rebellion* arraigned, convicted, caſt, and condemned. And while a multitude of her advocates are crouding about her at the Bar, pleading hard for her pardon or reprieve, methinks I ſee you, and all loyal hearts upon the Bench, approving the *ſentence*, and importuning

ning her speedy *execution.* I have, I hope, without offence to the *Higher Powers* concerned in the Text, taken upon me the Office of an *Ordinary*; and if that God who hath deservedly the first place in it, shall so far succeed my endeavours, that in the discharge of it I may see her safely out of the World, I have attained to the highest step of my ambition. And believe it, Sir, the very next is to approve my self, what your multiplied obligations have so highly merited,

Your most obsequious
and grateful Beneficiary
JOHN HIGHAM.

ERRATA.

PAg. 11. line 12. read *for their* p. 14. l. 4. r. *Race* p. 16. l. 19. r. *Emperours* p. 19. l. 7. for *sweetly* r. *seriously.* p. 22. l. 8. r. *r.* l. 10. r. *willeth.* p. 39. in Marg. r. *malt*, dele *sc.* p. 60. l. 16. r. *Gods.* p. 67. l. 12. dele *future.* l. ult. *Shi-* p. 87. l. 11. r. *had been one.* p. 88. l. 17. r. *blood which he never shed.* p. 96. l. ult. dele *as well as.* p. 130. l. 11. r. *as being.* p. 140. l. 10. r. *actions for those.* p. 147. l. 22. r. *it.* p. 152. l. 20. r. *fathers lands.* p. 156. l. 15. for *their* r. *that.* l. 25. for *him* r. *others.* p. 158. l. 16. r. *Judge Physician.*

A LOOKING-GLASS FOR LOYALTY.

PROV. XXIV. 21.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King.

THE Title of this Book ſuits very well with the Contents of it, being for the moſt part made up of Proverbs or Sentences, ſhort and ſweet, ſuch as are the delights of the ſons of men. The word from which they are tranſlated ſignifies *Rule*, *Superiority*, or *Excellency*; becauſe theſe of all other Speeches challenge the

preheminence. Such as for their brevity may be retained in a shallow Memory; and for their plainness may be apprehended by a Vulgar capacity. And without controversie, these are some of those three thousand which *Solomon* spake; the *major* part whereof (as it is probably conjectured by learned Authors) perished in the *Babylonish* Captivity.

1 *King.* 4. 42.

Ex pede Herculem.

But as a man might judge of the proportion of *Hercules* his body by the impression of his foot; and as by those lovely Clusters of Grapes which the Spies brought from the Land of *Canaan*, the *Israelites* might satisfie themselves of the fruitfulness of that Soil from whence they were taken; so by these, as a taste, we ghess at the excellency of the rest. In the reading whereof, we shall find that verified, which his Subjects upon his first piece of Justice did acknowledge, that *the Wisdom of God was in him.* There are enough of them yet left to make up a compleat Epitome of the whole Scripture: So that it is hard to say, whether we ought most to blame the malice of the Churches Enemies for the loss of the rest, and of other choice pieces, or to praise and extol the most wise Providence and great love of God, for reserving a sufficiency in these

1 *King.* 3. 28.

theſe and the reſt of the ſacred Canon, to guide his Elect to their future bliſs and happineſs.

Among theſe Proverbs of King *Solomon*, which are not a few, I have made choice of one which contains in it a *Subjects duty to his Soveraign.* A Doctrine which for ſome years was too great a Stranger to many of our *Engliſh* Pulpits, and as great an one to the practice of *Engliſh* Subjects. The one thundring out Curſes againſt *Meroz*, for not coming in freely and fully enough to the pretended help of the Lord againſt the Mighty. The other thereby either awed, or cheated into a horrid Rebellion againſt the Lords Annointed; as if it were a thing impoſſible for that man which feared his King to fear his God; whereas this Text tells us in effect the contrary, and that that Subject whoever he be, or whatever he pretends to, that hath ſhaken hands with the fear of his King, hath alſo at the ſame inſtant bid farewell to the fear of his God. This Scripture hath joined God and the King together; and I dare boldly proclaim him an enemy to both, that ſhall preſume to ſever or put them aſunder.

The Text minds us of three things: Diviſion.

1. Of a Duty that is owing, and that is *Fear*.

2. Of the Subject, by whom it must be paid, *My Son*.

3. Of the Object to whom it is due, and that is two-fold, *God and the King*. *And*, which shews that their interests are so interwoven, that he that fears one fears both, and he that fears not both, fears neither.

When the stately Fabrick of our *English* Monarchy was undermined and blown up by Anarchy, this Doctrine was buried in the Rubbish of its Ruines.

Before I enter upon the parts, according to that order which I intend, by Gods assistance to bound my discourse with, I conceive it very requisite to clear the Text of that Rubbish which the late loose and licentious Times have cast upon it; that so I may proceed with the less interruption in the erection of such a Structure, as I hope will bear some proportion to this Royal Foundation, which was laid by him whom Wisdom it self commends for the wisest of Kings. In order whereunto, I have thought it the best way for its quickest dispatch out of the way, to gather it up into two Heaps.

This cast up in two Heaps, in order to its removal.

The first heap *Obj.*

1. Some there have been in the World possessed with a Spirit of Anarchy, who have assumed to themselves the boldness to draw up a Charge against this Charge,

or

or rather againſt the Author of it, as that he aimed too much at ſelf; that this Leſſon which he would have his Subjects to learn, ſavours more of Intereſt than of Equity: and that little regard is to be had to what a King ſhall ſay in ſuch a caſe, who if allowed to be his own Carver, will not fail to cut large Morſels to feed his own inſatiable Prerogative: Let God allow him but an *Inch*, and he will take an *Ell*. God gives him his name, (*I ſaid ye are Gods*) therefore he thinks it no robbery to be equal with God, or at leaſt to go halfs with him in his Worſhip. Such black dirt they fear not to caſt in the face of Majeſty; as if what he had written had been from his own private motion, and not from Divine Inſpiration; although they cannot but know, if they know any thing, that this whole Book and every part and parcel thereof, is of as much Authority with their holy Mother the Church, as any of the other which are reputed Canonical.

K. *Solomon* accuſed of Self-ends.

Pſal. 82. 6.

Thoſe who make this Objection, are ſuch for the moſt part, whoſe judgments have been ſowred with the Leaven of Levelling Principles, that would advance the Shrub to the height of the Cedar, or bring down the loftieſt Cedar to the eſtate of the

Sol. The Character of the Objectors, and their deſign detected.

loweſt Shrub: Who if they may not be all Kings, will allow of no Kings at all. Their endeavours are to bring all to an Anarchy, and to the end of that Anarchy, *viz.* a Parity, which in effect makes a Kingdom a Monſter, a Body without a Head: Oppoſing therein all Order, and by conſequence him, who is the God not of Confuſion, but of Order. The ſame God that made all Men, made all Degrees and Orders of Men; ſome high, others low; ſome Kings to govern, others Subjects to obey: as he hath put a difference in the Cœleſtial Lights, ſo that *there is one glory of the Sun, another glory of the Moon, and another glory of the Stars*; and theſe glorious Stars differ from one another in glory: ſo hath he put the like among the chiefeſt of all his ſubcœleſtial Creatures, Men, both as to their external conditions, and their internal qualifications. And ſo I might paſs over this without any further trouble, having given this ſhort Character of theſe mens Faction, Opinion, and Deſign; which of themſelves without any further Argument, are a ſufficient Confutation. But to convince ſuch (if poſſible) of their errour, and to confirm others in that Allegiance which they owe, and deſire as good Chriſtians, and good Subjects

1 *Cor.* 14. 33.

His Right pleaded.

1 *Cor.* 15. 41.

Subjects to pay to Gods Vicegerent, their Lord and King. It will not be amiss to take a little pains to discover the ignorance or malice of those that make this Objection.

Certainly they can have no just cause to accuse *Solomon* of Self-ends, sith in that Precept of his in the Text, he requires no more as a King, then what God who is the King of Kings gave him, in giving him a Kingdom. And if they think him, because a Party concerned, no fit Judge in the case, surely we have as much reason to refuse to admit them, who are Plaintiffs, to the Umpirage. In all judicial proceedings, especially about *meum & tuum*, there is a Plaintiff, a Defendant, and a Judge who hath a determining Power, having heard both Parties; so that neither of them shall be their own Carvers; but are to acquiesce in the decision of that third person. Here are the Plaintiffs, namely, these Objectors; and here is the Defendant, *viz. Solomon*, in the just defence of his own Rights: the Question is, who shall be the Judge? None so fit, I conceive, to decide this Controversie between the King and his Subjects, as he who made both King and Subjects: whom the Holy Spirit of God in the

The Decison of the Controversie referred to the blessed Trinity.

1 Chron. 19. 7. mouth of good *Jehoshaphat*, propoſeth as a pattern for all Judges to imitate. Neither need they fear that in his Court, which is made up altogether of equity, *Might* will overcome *Right*, for with him is no reſpect of perſons; or that a *Gift* will blind his eyes, and cauſe him to pervert Juſtice: if any were ſo wicked as to offer it, yet God is more righteous then to accept it. If you would know his mind in the Caſe, you muſt have recourſe to his infallible Oracles the Holy Scriptures; which judge it for *Solomon*, condemning the other for injuriouſly detaining his right. Theſe will tell you how unanimouſly the holy, bleſſed, and undivided *Trinity*, concur in that Deciſion; that God the Father hath given us a Law, God the Son hath ſet us a Pattern, and God the Holy Ghoſt hath inſpired the Prophets and Apoſtles in the Times of the Old and New Teſtament, to call upon all Subjects to pay this duty to their Princes.

I. God the Father.

1. I ſuppoſe few, unleſs they be profeſſed Atheiſts, will diſpute the Divine Inſtitution of that Law which *Moſes* received on the Mountain to deliver to the People; but ſubſcribe to its Preface, as a truth which they are very well ſatisfied

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in, that God ſpake all thoſe words; and if all, then thoſe, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, which in order in our common account is the fifth, but in St. *Pauls* the firſt with promiſe; that is, with a particular promiſe, or promiſe made to the obedience of that particular command. The ſecond hath a promiſe annexed, but that is more general, not reſtraind to that ſingle precept, but is extended generally to the obedience of the whole Law, *ſhewing mercy to thouſands of them that love me and keep my Commandments*. We uſually reckon it the firſt of the ſecond, but *Philo* the *Jew* the laſt of the firſt *Table*. As though men had never performed their whole duty to their Father in Heaven, unleſs they give the honour there required to their Fathers here on Earth, which bear his Image: therefore he joined them both together in the ſame Table, as *Solomon* doth *God* and the *King* in the ſame precept here in the Text. *Ephoſ.* 6. 2. *Philo Jud.*

But ſome perhaps will be apt to queſtion, what a King can challenge from his Subjects, by virtue of that Command now under conſideration; wherein neither King nor Subject are ſo much as named? Theſe are to conſider, that the word Father is not of ſo narrow a Conſtruction as they *Queſt.* *Anſw.*

they would ſeem to conceive; yet that (it may be) too large for their duty too;

Natural Fathers.

but it is to be underſtood of all who are called by that name, or which for their Fatherly care deſerve to be ſo called. Beſides Natural Fathers from whom we have our being of Nature, there are which

Spiritual Fathers.

are ſo called in a Spiritual ſenſe; that is, Miniſters; from whom, under God, we have our being of Grace, without which it would be better if we had never been at all. Saint *Paul* tells the *Corinthians*, which is not a ſyllable more then what another Miniſter may ſay of any, where his labour hath found the like ſucceſs, *though you have many Inſtructors, yet ye have not many Fathers, for in Chriſt Jeſus I have begotten you through the Goſpel.*

1 *Cor.* 4. 15.

Oeconom. Fathers.

Moreover there be Oeconomical Fathers, ſuch as are Maſters to their Servants; [*Father if the Prophet had commanded thee ſome great thing, wouldſt thou not have done it*] ſay *Naamans* Servants to their Lord, when they heard him diſpute ſo paſſionately againſt the means of his cure.

2 *Kings* 5. 13.

Fathers by Age.

There are alſo old men, whom for their Age we ought to reverence as Fathers. In former Times thoſe perſons were looked upon with an eye of reſpect by all who pretended to civility, although their outward

1 *Tim.* 5. 12.

ward condition were never ſo mean; who had outlived the ſight of their eyes, or the taſte of their palats, on whoſe head the Almond Tree did flouriſh, and on whoſe foreheads Age had plowed her deepeſt furrows. It was noted as an ill *Omen*, and a ſign of great confuſion, when the Children preſumed againſt the Antients; and when the faces of the Elders were not had in honour. *Iſa.* 3. 5. *Lament.* 5. 12.

Shall theſe, and ſeveral others be thought for more particular care, (the Father of his Children, the Miniſter of his Flock, the Maſter of his Servants, the Tutor of his Pupils, the Schoolmaſter of his Scholers, *&c.*) worthy; and do not Kings much more deſerve it, if faithful in the diſcharge of their truſt, that have the care of all their Subjects incumbent upon them? *Adrian* the Emperour was wont to ſay he was a King, not for himſelf, but for his People; conceiving himſelf obliged by virtue of his Office, to mind more the common good of his Subjects then the particular good of himſelf. Such mens honours are not (if deſerved) without their burdens: and though the outſides of their Crowns be ſet with precious ſtones, which make a glorious ſhew, dazling the eyes of their Spectators, yet they Fathers of their Country. *Adrian.* *Non mihi ſed Populo Romano.* *Honos Onus.*

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sit very uneasie upon their heads; being lined with the pricking Thorns of those daily cares, which do attend them. Neither are their temples so compassed with the one, as their minds are besieged with the other. That King in *Homer*, complained that great *Jupiter* in that respect, had made but little difference between him and a Prisoner, accounting his Cares his Prison. And it is storied of *Augustus* a *Roman* Emperour, that hearing of a *Roman* Knight who was imprisoned for debt, and yet slept as sweetly as if he were at liberty and owed no man the value of a penny; he sent after his death to buy his Bed, conceiving there must be something more then ordinary in it. If so, Princes more then any have need of such Beds; because they of all men have most cares. And the same Author relates a saying of the same Emperour to his *Livia*, *Had we not businesses, and cares, and fears, above any private persons, we should be equal to the gods*: their breasts are as the Ocean, whereinto the cares of private men do empty themselves. And their affection is excellently exprest by that Phrase of *carrying their Subjects in their Bosome*: and little do they know the tender bowels there are in their Governours towards them,

Augustus.

Ἰσόθεοι ἦμεν εἰ μὴ καὶ πράγματα καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας ἔχομεν. *Dio. Cass. Numb.* 11.12.

them, borrowing time from their own reſt to plot and contrive for their good; if they did, they would value them at a higher rate then moſt of them do.

When *Julius Cæſar* had overcome *Pompey*, at that fatal Battle fought between them in the *Pharſalian* Fields, and had purſued his Victory ſo far as *Egypt*, whither he fled, and where he was baſely murdered; his two Sons *Sextus* and *Cneius*, heirs of their Fathers Valour and Misfortunes, one of them being ſlain at *Munda* in *Spain*, the other forced to ſhelter himſelf in *Celtiberia*; in ſo much that an end was generally conceived to be put to thoſe Civil Wars, which owed its riſe and original to the ſtout Spirit of the one, and the haughty Courage of the other; or rather to the boundleſs ambition of both: the one brooking no Superior, the other no Equal. The Senate at his return, the better to expreſs their gratitude for their deliverance from the miſeries of that War, welcomed him home with new invented Titles of Honour; ſtiling him among others, *The Father of his Country*, and the ſame was afterwards conferred upon many that ſucceeded him: yea, the *Romans* thought they could not give an higher to thoſe who deſerved the higheſt, for their care of the Commonwealth. Se-

Julius Cæſar.

Sextum fortuna in Celtiberia abſcondit. Florus de Geſt. Roman.

Pater Patriæ.

Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit. Juvenal. Sat. 8.

Several hundreds of years before this, we find it in use in other Nations. *Orus* the third of the *Pharaohs* or Kings of the *Egyptian* Rule, who swayed the Scepter of that Kingdom about two thousand and two hundred years after the Worlds Creation, was that *Pharaoh* which advanced *Joseph* to be his Vice Roy, changing his Iron Fetters into a Chain of Gold, his Rags, into Robes, and his Stocks into a Chariot, wherein he rid in State, with a multitude of Attendants, and an Herald proclaimed before him *Abrech*, that is, say some, *the Kings Father*. An interpretation that sutes exactly with his own expression, when he made himself known to his brethren, *God hath made me a Father to Pharaoh, Lord of all his house, and Ruler throughout all the Land of Egypt.* But whether it agrees so well with the Original, I have not skill enough in that Language to determine. According to St. *Jeroms* translation, it sounds as much as *a tender Father*, as having a tender care both of his and his Subjects weal, contriving and advising an effectual way in a tedious Famine, to supply them with necessaries for the support of their lives; and when the management of it was committed to his trust, he discharged it with that

Orus.

Gen. 41. 43.

Gen. 45. 8.

St. *Jerom.*

that prudence and integrity, that he gained the love both of Prince and People. What respect the first had to him, we may gather from the name which he imposed on him, *viz. Saviour of the World.* And what an high veneration the other had for him, an ancient Ecclesiastical Author informs us, that the *Egyptians* finding themselves infinitely obliged for his care and providence, consecrated him under the name of *Serapis*, that carried a measure of Corn upon his head, to signifie that he was the god who had given them bread.

Zaphnathpaaneah. *Gen.41.45.* *Julius Firmicus.*

Once more, This Title applied as aforesaid, pleads a longer prescription yet among the *Philistines*, who were governed at first by one King, sometimes by five, according to the number of their principal Cities, but always united in the time of any approaching danger; and whatever was the name of the King his title was *Abimelech.* The King of *Gerar*, when *Abraham* went to sojourn there, is called *Abimelech.* So likewise is he that came to *Beersheba* desiring a League with *Isaac*, supposed (by the distance of time) to be another of the same name, it being by computation fourscore years between his first sojourning there with his Father, and this which was after his Fathers death; and

Gen.21.1,2. *Chap.26.26.*

que-

queſtionleſs they kept the ſame ſo long as it was a Kingdom, till they loſt both their power and their reputation too: For that King before whom *David*, many hundred of years after that, feigned himſelf mad, is (in the Inſcription of that *Pſalm*, which he penned upon that occaſion in teſtimony of gratitude to the Author of his deliverance) called *Abimelech*; it is conſeſt in the Hiſtory of it, to which that refers us, we find his name to be *Achiſh*: and the reaſon why *Achiſh* in the one ſhould be *Abimelech* in the other, is not becauſe he was *binominis*, as one would have it, but becauſe the firſt was his Name, the other his Title of Honour: which was common to all the *Philiſtin* Kings, as *Pharaoh* was to the *Egyptian*, and *Cæſar* to the *Roman*: and this in the true ſignification of it is neither more nor leſs then *My Father the King*. And that they may not think this a Title given only to Heathen Governours by their Subjects, out of a blind devotion; or that it is a ſtranger as to this ſenſe in the Sacred Dialect, unleſs when they are mentioned; let them conſult theſe Quotations in the Margent, and that promiſe made by God himſelf to his Church, which hath reſpect to the times of the Goſpel, and tends very much to its pro-

Pſal.34.

1 *Sam.* 21.

Aben Ezra.

Quod Achiſh hoc loco dicitur Abimelech, Baſilius ex traditione majorum & alii exiſtimant nomen illud Regibus Palæſtinæ fuiſſe commune, &c. Mollerus in loc.

1 *Sam.*24.11. 2 *Chron.*29.11. *Job* 29.16.

propagation and advancement in the accompliſhing and fulfilling thereof, *viz.* *Kings ſhall be thy Nurſing Fathers; and Queens ſhall be thy Nurſing Mothers.* If they deſire to be ſatisfied, why God uſeth the names of Father and Mother to ſignifie the reſt? It is becauſe that Government juſtly challengeth the precedency in reſpect of Antiquity; that of Father and Mother over their Children taking place ſo ſoon as they had Children to govern; at leaſt ſo ſoon as they were in a capacity to be governed. And it is from this that all others are to take their rule and direction.

Iſa. 49. 23.

Queſt.

Anſw.

And it is no difficult matter to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to them who will ſubmit their judgments to Reaſon, why all the above named particular Callings are comprehended under this as the general?

Queſt.

And that is, Becauſe they perform ſuch duties as belong to Parents. It belongs to them to inſtruct their Children, therefore Paſtors and Teachers are our Fathers, who do that good Office for us in their ſtead; in a better manner poſſibly then they can do it in their own perſons: many Parents being ſo ignorant, that they have need to be taught themſelves. The

Anſw.

Father is to provide for his Child, therefore Patrons and Benefactors are our Fathers, who take that Fatherly care of us, ; which the other would willingly do, but cannot ; having it may be, no more Water then what will serve to drive their own Mill. It belongs to them to procure the good of their Children, therefore Kings are called Fathers, because they mind and endeavour the good of their People. And although the duty owing to each of these in their respective capacities are comprised under one and the same word *Honour*, yet the *plus* or *minus* of that honour must be according to the degree and measure of those benefits that their Relations reap by them. The *Pharisees* preferring their spiritual before their natural Parents, had been the more justifiable, had they not made their pretended respect to the one, a colour for their unnatural neglect of the other. Saint *Paul* the Doctor of the Gentiles, and one of the same Sect (according to his own account which he gives of himself, while in the state of his unregeneracy) lived a *Pharisee*. He, when in his Epistle to *Philemon* he pleaded for the reception of his runnagate Servant *Onesimus* (as light it seems of finger as of foot, as appears by his expression, where

Pharisees.

Mat. 15. 4, 5.

Acts 26. 5.

Philemon v. 18.

where he ſweetly mitigates his ſhameful eſcape by the name of *wrong*, and his theft by that of *debt*) among other Arguments minds him of the obligation of his Converſion, which he owed next under God to him, and for that, himſelf. And S. *Bernard* ſweetly contemplating the mercy of God to him, both in reſpect of his firſt and ſecond birth, thankfully acknowledgeth him as the principal efficient of both: but withal that his obligation is the greater from the latter; ſaying, *If I owe my ſelf to God for making me, what do I owe to him for renewing me, or making me a new creature when I had marred my ſelf? there was more concurring to the work of my Redemption then to that of my Creation; in the one he gave me to my ſelf, in the other he gave himſelf to me: therefore I owe my ſelf for the one, and (if poſſible) more then my ſelf for the other.* *Alexander* the Great would commonly ſay he owed more to *Ariſtotle* that taught him, then to *Philip* that begat him. And *Gracchus* ſhewed more reſpect to his Nurſe that led him with her breſt, then to his Mother that bare him in her womb; oppoſing the careſulneſs of the one, to the careleſsneſs

Philemon v. 19.

Si totum me debeo pro me facto, quid debeo pro me refecto? nec enim tam facile refectu quam facto; in primo opere me mihi dedit, in ſecundo ſe. Bernard. de diligendo Deo.

Alexandri.

Gracchus.

Tu ſolum novem menſibus me geſtaſti in utero hæc vero me tribus annis integris in ulnis & amplexibus fideliſſime nutrivit, negaſti id mihi quod Planta ramis, quod Simea catulis non negavit. Jun. Ruſticus, lib de Educatione.

of the other, who denied him that, that senſleſs Plants afforded to their tender branches, and the brute Creatures to their ſhiftleſs young. Is there not then as much or more honour due to Kings, both for their Government and Protection; without which the one could not do their duty, nor the other receive the benefit? When *Jeremiah* in his *Lamentations*, ſtiled *Joſiah* the breath of his Subjects noſtrils, he gave them thereby to underſtand that they were indebted to him for that common benefit of the Air to breath in; and that the breath which they drew, they drew in a ſenſe through and by him.

Lam. 4.20.

Except.

But probably theſe will except againſt what hath been ſaid to clear theſe ſeveral intereſts in that precept, and oppoſe the authority of *Muſculus*, a man pious in his life, and eminent for his Learning, publick Reader of Divinity in the City of *Berne* in *Helvetia*; who in his Common Places treating of the fift Commandment, ſaith it needeth no declaration who are meant by Father and Mother, it being known to all men that they be our Parents of whom we are born and bred; and accounting the including in them the Magiſtrates and Miniſters, *&c.* a Vulgar Errour, affirming that there is nothing there

Ex Muſculo.

com-

commanded of them; and that there are other places in the Scripture which admoniſh us to honour our Governours, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, Miniſters, Tutors, Maſters and Elders.

Anſw. There are ſo indeed, and withal this liberty granted *to prove all things*; which implies a Rule by which they are to be tried; *To the Law, and to the Teſtimony.* Whatſoever that commands is a duty, and whatſoever that forbids is a ſin, though never ſo curiouſly flouriſhed over by the ſleights of a ſubtle adverſary that lies in wait to deceive us. *E contra*, Nothing is a ſin but what is there forbidden; nothing is a duty but what either in expreſs terms, or by direct inference is there commanded; otherwiſe that *Sweet Singer* of *Iſrael* had gone a Note above *Elah* (as the *Muſicians* ſay) when he gave this Epithite to this very Law, *perfect*; which it cannot be ſaid to be if any thing be wanting. And if this and thoſe other ſeveral Callings ſhould not in that Precept be underſtood, the Law ſhould be defective in omitting many principal duties. *David* indeed had ground ſufficient for that expreſſion, from thoſe words of that great God who was the Law giver; which requires ſo exact a compliance to that Law

Conceſſ. 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 21. *Iſa.* 8. 20. *Pſal.* 19. 7. *Deut.* 12. 32.

ſo given, as that a man can neither fall ſhort nor ſold over, do either leſs or more then it injoins, without ſin. Therefore *whatſoever I command you take heed you do it; thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom.* So that if when St. *Paul* commanded ſubjection to the Soveraign Powers, giving to them, thoſe impowered by them, Tribute, Cuſtom, Fear, Honour; when he will to double their honour, to thoſe that rule well, eſpecially if they *labour in the Word and Doctrine*; or that they think them worthy of double honour; when he would have thoſe that are Servants to obey their Maſters according to the fleſh, they had asked what ground he had for ſo doing? without all queſtion he would have referred them to this precept, which injoins all to honour their Parents. It is confeſt a Subject might well diſpute his Princes intereſt in that fear which the Text calls for, were he bound to look no further then into the Letter of the Law, where is no mention made either of the one or of the other. But as he cannot be a good Lawyer who never ſtudied the meaning of the Law in the Commentaries of ſuch as are learned in the Law, who have taken much pains for their own ſatisfaction, and their Readers profit; ſo

Rom. 1. 1.

Verſ. 7.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Conceſſ.

ſo that man can be no expert Chriſtian that doth not ſearch the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apoſtles, which are authentick Comments upon that Law, and allowed Interpreters of the ſame. So then whatever we read of Fear, *&c.* it is upon the account of that command, *Honour thy Father.* The King is a Father, ſo called not only by man, but by God himſelf, who made him a King; therefore he muſt be honoured, ſo runs the Precept; he muſt be feared, ſo ſaith the Text. In a word, 'tis worth your obſervation, that this King calling upon his Subject for it, ſpeaks unto him as a Father to his Child, *My Son*; as if on purpoſe by that endearing appellation, to lead him as it were by the hand to that very commandment, that ſo he might convince him of the neceſſity of the Duty.

II. God the Son. *Deut.* 18. 18.

2. God the Son, when he came out of the boſom of the Father to take mans nature upon him, and to execute the office of a Prophet (under which notion he was promiſed long before to his Church) he came not (as he himſelf ſaith) to deſtroy, but to fulfil his Fathers Law; not to confound, but to expound it; not to give us a new Law, but to inſtruct us in the meaning of the old. And therefore when he *Mat.* 5. 17.

John 13.34. saith, *A new commandment give I unto you*; either by *novum* we are to understand *renovatum*; not a new addition, or addi-
Deut. 4.2. tion of a *new* Law to the *Old*, expressly prohibited; but a new edition of a Law which was given of old, or because it is urged upon a new account, [*as I have lo-*
Καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς. *ved you*] proposing himself as their great Exemplar, in imitation of whom, and in some cases, if need required, they should die for their brethren. This is according
Dr. Hammond in John 13. to the sense judicious *Hammond* gives of it. Being now to take my last leave, I give you this special new Command, that from the manner and degree of my love to you expressed, in venturing, nay, losing my life for you, ye also learn and practise the same degree of loving one another: that is, that all Christians abound one towards another in all Charity, and venture their lives for the good of others, especially for the propagating of the Gospel, doing good to their souls. This is to write after that matchless Copy which Christ hath set us in his own example,
Ephes. 5.2. *who loved us and gave himself for us to be an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour unto God*: so that what he did was upon the account of his free and undeserved love: but what we must do and suffer for

for one another is upon the ſcore of bounden duty, implied by that expreſſion which the Apoſtle St. *John* makes uſe of when he preſſeth the practice of this very duty to the higheſt pitch, we ought to *lay down our lives for the Brethren.* The manner then, and the degree is all that can be ſaid to be *new* in that Commandment. 1 *John* 3. 16. Ὀφείλομεν.

If you would know what care he had of the Magiſtrates Intereſt? both his doctrine and his practice which was exactly ſuitable to it, ſufficiently teſtifie, that he came not to pluck them out of their Thrones, but to fix them more firmly in them: not to countenance the clamours of the covetous rabble, who are ready to cry out *Tyrant* when they call for what they are loth to part with, though no more then what they may juſtly challenge as their own. But to preſs the Subjects compliance with their Princes in their juſt claims, without regret or oppoſition: we have in the Goſpel a caſe of this nature brought before him to decide, by ſome cunning Snaps of two different Sects, and in the matter in queſtion of different opinions, *Phariſees* and *Herodians.* The firſt looked upon the *Romans* as Uſurpers, and forcible poſſeſſors, the other acknowledged Chriſt his care of the Magiſtrates Intereſt ſhewed.

1. In his doctrine *Matth.* 22.

Queſtion about Tribute.

ledged and adhered to it as a lawful Authority. The queſtion which they propoſe is, whether it were lawful to pay tribute to *Caſar* or not? theſe though divided in their judgments, yet can unite in their deſign, or rather down right flattery; either ſeeking thereby to work him to a compliance, and to give in his judgment in favour of their Party, or both, to draw him into a ſnare. Which is obſerved by the *Evangeliſt*, and both diſcovered and diſguſted by our Saviour, who perceived their wickedneſs, and ſaid, *Why tempt ye me, ye Hypocrites? why endeavour ye to enſnare me, under pretence of reverencing me?* but he was too wiſe to be ſurpriſed with ſuch chaff; for he knew all men, and had no need that any ſhould teſtifie of man, for he knew what was in man: his all-ſeeing eye could eaſily eſpie under that alluring bait a deadly hook; and therefore to that ſubtle queſtion he returns them a diſcreet anſwer, whereby he ſecured himſelf, and aſtoniſhed his Enemies. *Shew me (ſaith he) the tribute money and they brought him a penny; and he ſaith unto them, whoſe image and ſuperſcription is this? they ſay unto him,* Cæſars: *Then ſaith he unto them, render therefore unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars, *and unto* God

Divided judgments uniting in a deſign.

The Snare laid.

Verſe 15.

Verſe 18.

Mel in ore verba lactis, Fel in corde, fraus in factis.

John 2.24.25.

Diſcovered.

*Mat.*22. 20,21.

God *the things that are* Gods. So that he ſtated their Queſtion by their very Coin, the image on it, and the inſcription about it were records of the Conqueſt of the *Romans* over their Nation. And herein appeared the prudence of our Saviour: Their enſnaring queſtion diſcreetly ſtated. Chriſts Prudence.

1. He might have taken a piece of money of his own, but he rather bids them to ſhew him a piece of theirs.

2. Not of any of their money neither, but of that of which they paid their tribute, which was of the *Roman* Stamp, which for that purpoſe was the onely money that was accepted for current; the *Roman* Emperour requiring this at their hands, as a token of their ſubjection to his Power and Dominion. The coining of money hath ever ſince money was firſt invented, been accounted a part of the ſupream Power, or Regal Prerogative, yea, ſo properly his, that it is incommunicable to any other; and their acknowledgment of that to be ſo current a Coin, ſuppoſeth him whoſe Signature it had, to be their lawful Prince.

3. And therefore as he might juſtly challenge it upon the ſcore of his juſt due; ſo they ought to pay it upon the account of their bounden duty, the Law of God requiring

requiring that every man ſhould have that which belongs to him, and ſo conſequently Kings their due acknowledgments. The word in the Original, is engliſhed in the lateſt and exacteſt Tranſlations, *render*; which ſignifies that the payment of it lies as an inexcuſable duty upon the Subject. And where it is in ſome others rendred *Give*, we are not to underſtand it of a voluntary giving, as of curteſie; but of a neceſſary giving or paying of a due debt. As we are ſaid to give our Creditors their due when we pay what we owe them; or to teach us (in oppoſition to that murmuring and repining humour of the moſt) that it ſhould be as willingly and readily paid, as if it were a free gift.

Rom. 13. 7. *Αποδοτε, ſignificat debitum quoddam inexcuſabile ſubditis impoſitum eſſe. Marlorat.*

Cæſars right vindicated, and their deſign fruſtrated

This was the ſum and ſubſtance of his wary and circumſpect anſwer to that ſubtle and enſnaring queſtion; ſuch as they could take no hold of to intrap and intangle him as they deſired. Whereupon St. *Luke* ſaith, *they held their peace*; St. *Matthew*, *they left him and went their way*. Miniſters have need of the Wiſdom of the Serpent, when they have to deal with ſuch ſubtle Foxes; and if they ſuſpect any of their Auditors to come (as theſe did to the beſt of Teachers) with Nets in their Ears, they ſhould make it

Luke 20. 16. *Matth.* 22. 22. Caution to his Miniſters.

no

no ſmall part of their care to carry neither Fiſh nor Fowl in their Tongues, leſt they enſnare themſelves. A Leſſon which the great Prophet of Prophets, and Teacher of Teachers, hath not only commanded us in his preaching, but commended to us in his practice, in this very inſtance. *Fullers Contemplations.* *Matth. 10. 16.*

What iſſue this anſwer had in reference to the ſatisfaction of theſe that were imployed in this trepanning errand, or to that of thoſe that ſent them, the Scripture mentions not, but is as ſilent as themſelves. Yet if that ſilence of theirs were an unqueſtionable Argument of an implicite conſent, according to the old Proverb, we might give a favourable gheſs of a ſatisfactory iſſue. But ſith it appears ſo plainly by uncontrollable evidence, that the ones ſending and the others coming was to feed their malice rather then to inform their judgments, both that and their after practice give us greater grounds to ſuſpect the contrary; and that they came with a reſolution not to be reſolved. He that is prepoſſeſſed with that prejudice, is like a man that uſeth Spectacles made of green Glaſs, which repreſenteth every object, unleſs Green, in a falſe colour. And wherever we find malice to be the Maſter, *What to judge of the iſſue of his Anſwer.* *Non perſuadebit etiamſi perſuaſerit. Simil.*

Master, we may safely conclude Reason to be the Slave: and to let us see how sadly the clouds of their passions had obscured the light of their Reasons, his very prudence not long after was by some of those very persons improved into a formal accusation against him. *We found* (say they) *this fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give tribute to* Cæsar. Then which nothing could be more notoriously false, or a fuller evidence against them that they sinned against the light of their Consciences.

Luke 23. 2.

The Prophet *Zachary* speaking in a way of prophesie of the thirty pieces of silver which *Judas* received as the reward of his treason in the sale of his Master, personates Christ by an *Irony*, upbraiding them for the mean esteem they had of him, a goodly price that I was valued at of them. But whosoever hath read what Christ foretold in the Scripture relating to their punishment for their barbarous and inhumane usage of him; and how exactly it was accomplished and in what dreadful manner executed (as it is recorded by their own Historians, who sealed the truth of his Prophesie by their writings, as millions of his implacable enemies did with their bloud) cannot think that to be

Zach. 11. 13.

the

the total sum of what was paid for that bloudy purchase. And for that low value they set upon him, by the just hand of God who loves to retaliate, that the guilty offender may see his sin written in his punishment, they were valued a great deal lower, when thirty of them were bought and sold for a penny. And if those (for the *major* part but accessaries) were so severely handled for abetting the malice of others, who (animated by their superiours, who should have taught them better) cry in their blind zeal, *crucifie him, crucifie him*; what may we think became of those that were the principal contrivers who causlesly conceived both the malice and the mischief of it in their hearts, against that innocent person? who rather then fail to bring their cursed design to effect, run themselves headlong into the guilt of that unpardonable sin. If he that sins against his knowledge hath made a considerable step towards it, he that hath added malice to it hath compleated it.

Their low value set upon Christ punished and retaliated by a far lower set upon themselves. *Hegesip. de excid. Hierosol. p.680.*

And yet for the most part accessaries.

Mat.12.32.

The Ring-leaders charged higher.

St. *Paul* when a *Saul*, persecuted him in his members, and that maliciously, yet he found mercy, because he did it ignorantly. St. *Peter* denied him thrice in the High-priests Hall successively, and that against his knowledge most apparently; but though

Acts 9.4.

1 Tim.1.13.

The ingredients in the sin against the Holy Ghost, *secundum Ja. Armachan.*

Matth. 26.34. though he did it knowingly, he did it not maliciously; and being minded by the crowing of the Cock of that sad foretold Verse 75. issue of his rash confidence, *he went out and wept bitterly*; and questionless he that steeped his godly sorrow in these briny tears, could not fail to reap in joy. Had *Paul* had *Peters* knowledge joined to his malice, and *Peter Pauls* malice joined to his knowledge, both had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. If then these be the ingredients that make up that sin, and when in sin they are apparently in the same persons, prosecuting the same design, in persecuting the Professors of the Truth, how can these be acquitted as not guilty of it, who with such wicked malice against so clear a knowledge, defame, prosecute, persecute even to the death, him that was truth it self? who though his answer be so clear as nothing can be clearer in favour of the *Roman* Emperour in that Case of Tribute, yet falsly and most maliciously accuse him as a discountenancer of the Payment of it.

2. Christ his practice. But though they would not satisfie them who resolved to be satisfied with nothing but his bloud; yet all that own and honour him truly, cannot upon the serious consideration thereof, but be throughly con-

convinced that the Doctrine of Christ taught in the Gospel, is no doctrine of Sedition or disobedience to Princes and other Magistrates; but on the contrary, a doctrine that teacheth obedience, and all other duties due unto them. And what he bids them do, is no more, then he himself did, who being God and Man, subjected himself to the Laws both of God and man; thereby shewing what respect he did bear to Magistracy, which was his Fathers Ordinance. And that he might avoid offence, and set a Copy for all Christians to write after him, he wrought but one Money-miracle, and that was to pay his own and *Peters* Head silver, *Go to the Sea, and cast in an hook, and take the first fish that cometh up, and when thou hast opened his mouth thou shalt find a piece of money, that take and give unto them for me and thee.* *Mat.* 17. 27.

III. God the Holy Ghost, which will be more fully cleared in the third part of the Text.

Lastly, The Prophets and Apostles, inspired by the Holy Ghost, do in their Writings press this and such like duties, even in the worst of Times, to be paid to the worst of Kings, because they were Kings; yea, to some Kings that were the worst of men, as shall be made more fully to appear in its proper place.

And thus I hope, by what hath been al-

ready offered, I have sufficiently cleared the Text of the first heap of Rubbish, and wiped off that aspersion cast upon the Author thereof of being selfish; because he demands no more then what God himself commands: and to require less, were to betray that Majesty which the Most High hath placed in him, to the scorn and contempt of the lowest of men.

The second heap of Rubbish.

Obj. 2. Others there are that charge this and such like subjects, as useless to edification; and those Sermons preached upon them, in their best construction, Court Divinity. There are some yet alive, who preaching upon such Theams in an Auditory made up of persons of different perswasions; some whereof possessed with a spirit of Opposition, as well against all Ministers that are not of their own Faction, as Magistrates that are not of their own Election; have been much incensed either at the Preachers, at their Texts, or at their Doctrine; at one or all: and have when opportunity served, accosted them in some such like language as this; What is all this to edification? ye might have made choice of Subjects of a more Soul-saving concern, and much more fitter and proper for a Pulpit discourse, the main design whereof should be to discountenance sin,

and

and to encourage a holy life. The accosted were not much startled at it, because it proceeded from the mouths of such as lay under an apparent guilt; and therefore could expect to be no more grateful to them, then a heavy burden to a galled back.

Being therefore upon this clearing design, I shall spend a little time in examining their pretences; and do in the first place ingeniously confess, that had their Objection as much of real ground for it, as it seems to have of solid weight in it, it were well worth our most serious thoughts. It is a considerable truth which the Philosopher long since spake, *Man hath a great deal of work to do, and but a little time to do it in*; and therefore hath all the reason in the World to embrace *Solomons* counsel, as of great concernment, *All that thine hand shall find to do, do it quickly; for there is neither work, nor invention, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the Grave, whither thou goest*: and are not men as much concerned in the choice of their work? that they spend not that short and precious time of theirs in picking Rushes; about *Mint, and Annis, and Cummin*, those low things; I mean, that meerly concern the support of an earthly

Sol. First by way of Concession.

Vita brevis ars longa. Senec.

Eccles. 9.10.

Cottage? which with our greatest care cannot long be kept from falling about our ears; and in the mean time neglect a far more weighty matter, Judgment and Mercy, those things which concern their precious and Immortal souls which shall live for ever, either in weal or woe, and must receive their reward hereafter, *according to the works which they have done in their bodies here, whether they have been good or evil.* It concerns them therefore, as to their choice chiefly, though not only, to apply themselves to, and imploy themselves in those things which will bring most glory to God and benefit to themselves.

Inference.

If those are concerned in both these whom God hath charged with the care of their own souls: can any man think them concerned in neither, who are charged with the souls of others? *Take heed to your selves, and to the flock of which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Sith this is properly their work which they are called to, and set apart for, and which their ministerial Commission leaves not as arbitrary to them, but lays as a debt upon them, [*I am a debter to the Græcians, yea a necessity is laid*

Servæ depositum

Acts 20. 28.

Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις εἰμὶ.

Rom. 1. 14.

laid upon me, and woe is to me if I preach not the Gospel.] The chief end of their Preaching is the salvation of their Hearers souls; and the Word preached is the ordinary means that God hath appointed for that end: therefore they must up and be doing, and have a care (as to the choice of their Work) that they spend not their time, nor abuse their Auditors ears and patience with unprofitable impertinencies. 1 Cor. 9. 16. Rom. 1. 16. 1 Cor. 1. 21.

The Apostle instructing *Titus*, and in him all Ministers in the faithful discharge of their trust, wills them to *avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and brawlings about the Law*, upon this very consideration, that they are unprofitable and vain: having little or nothing in them tending to that, which he would have such men to drive at as their scope, *viz.* Edification; and on the other side is as careful to inform them what doctrines they should preach, insist, and dwell upon. Tit. 3. 9. 1 Cor. 14. 26.

1. *These things I will thou shouldst affirm, that they which have believed in God, might be careful to shew forth good works; these things are good and profitable unto men.* The Inference is clear, that though they must teach every truth, and hold nothing Tit. 3. 8.

from their people that is profitable for them; yet some truths there are that must be more inculcated then others, *viz.* those that are most necessary, and most opposed, either through the corruption of the Times, or the malice of Heretical depravers of the truth. As that which the Apostle gives in charge, was in that Age wherein he lived, which abounded with men of two contrary Opinions, and neither of them Orthodox, *Nullifidians* and *Solifidians*; the one laying the whole weight of their eternal salvation upon their own miserably imperfect Works without Faith, and therefore *dead works*; these are largely confuted in his Epistle to the *Galatians*: the other wholy neglecting works, rely wholy upon their pretended Faith, which without Work is *dead* also. This is that which he would have *Titus* teach, because so much by those mens principles and practices gainsaid?

Pro hic & nunc

2. This being granted, as indeed it cannot be denied; the former Objection hath much, yea, very much of weight in it, in respect of the matter of it. But what it hath of worth, as to the ground of it, comes in the next place to be considered. Should we gratifie their humour so far, as to yield that to them for true, which they object;

The falsehood of this second Objection detected.

object, which we neither shall, nor safely can; have not we as much reason to quarrel with the holy Scriptures, (which God forbid) for imposing this subject on us to preach, as they with us for pressing it on them to practice? If it be demanded what authority we have to preach such Doctrines now in the time of the Gospel; since Christ came into the World to purchase liberty, and to proclaim that liberty so purchased; and the Apostle St. *Paul* after his Ascention into Heaven, wills all Christians to stand fast in that liberty so purchased and proclaimed? We can with as much facility produce, as they ask it. If they will but take the pains to read what that Chosen Vessel of the Lord charged on his beloved Son, according to the common Faith, which is here word for word faithfully transcribed, *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magistrates*: where we are to weigh the manner of delivering, as well as the matter delivered. Some render it suggest, to which *Beza* gives only a negative approbation, that it was not erroneous, and finds this fault with it, that it carried too much of ambiguity in it; which is dangerous in respect of the doctrine, which had so many opposers; and

The Ministers Authority to preach this Doctrine.

Tit. 3. 1.

Ὑπομίμνησκε. *Suggere.* Piscator. *Non mala quidem sed periculosa quadam ambiguitate se.* Beza Annot.

and withal subjoins a sufficient reason to justifie his exception; because those things also are said to be suggested, which before were never heard of. But here the Apostle speaks of that which was no new or strange doctrine, but that which they had often heard and well enough understood, but did not so carefully remember, and therefore as he feared, would not so immoveably adhere to, when their Loyalty should be assaulted, and themselves tempted to contrary practices by men of contrary principles.

The reasons which prove it necessary.

Libertines.

Commonefacito. Junius *in loc.*

Therefore he and others have commended this as the better, being more significant, and more agreable with the mind and meaning of the Author, put them in mind; thereby manifestly implying, that this was not a new, but an ancient doctrine, he might say of this to the *Cretians*, as of *Brotherly Love* to the *Thessalonians*, they had been taught it before. And though it were old, it was not obsolete, or like an Almanack out of date so soon as the year is done; a Doctrine never out of season; and because so much opposed, there was the more reason it should be the oftner preached.

The interest from both.

A two-fold account how requisite it is it should be so.

And that, as I apprehend, upon a two-fold account.

1. Of

1. Of Nature; which desires nothing more then liberty, *Father give me the portion of good that falleth to me*, so saith the Prodigal: his desire was to be altogether at his own disposing; and like a young Horse newly backed, strives hard to get the reins out of his Riders hands, and would fain be his own guide before he hath been wayed. We are all one mans children, why not one as good as another? why must some be Kings to make Laws, and others Subjects to obey them? this is the language of Nature, and from these self-flattering premises, it makes this stubborn and rebellious conclusion: *Let us break their bonds in sunder, and cast away their cords from us.*

1. Of Nature. *Luke* 15. 12.

Her Objection or Plea.

Psal. 2. 3.

2. Upon the account of real or supposed Grace. *We are not under the Law, but under Grace.* Under Grace, therefore under no Law: not under the Laws of men, so the *Anabaptists*; no, nor under the Law of God himself, so the *Antinomians*. We are all the adopted children of one and the same God; all brethren of one and the same Christ our elder brother, all coheirs with him to one and the same inheritance; why should we King it one over another here? that distinction shall cease; yea, it seems already taken a-

2. From Grace. *Rom.* 6. 14. Her Plea.

way

way by that levelling position of St. *Paul*, Gal. 3. 26,28. *We are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.*

The antiquity of it. This objection is no novice, but may plead a very considerable prescription, bearing date the same day with the Rebellion of *Corah* and his complices, Numb. 16. 3. *who gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you seeing all the Congregation are holy every one of them; and the Lord is among them, wherefore then lift you up your selves against the Congregation of the Lord?* very requisite therefore it is in both the aforesaid respects, that this doctrine should be frequently preached, and the practice of it as earnestly pressed, to pull down the pride of Nature, and to confine the priviledges of Grace within their proper limits.

Solut. 1 Concess. *Acts* 17. 26. 1. True it is that we have all one common Father by creation, *viz.* God, *who made of one bloud all Nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, who did in the beginning create all things, as by an Almighty Power:* So also in a most excellent order

order *he created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them, and God bleſſed them, and ſaid unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth.* The ſame God when man by vertue of that bleſſing did multiply, and the earth by that multiplication was repleniſhed with men and women, to prevent confuſion which inſeperably attends multitude without order, placed them under ſuch and ſuch diſtinctions. So that we may ſay truly both of King and Subject, God which made Kings men, made men Kings; and God which made Subjects men, made men Subjects. Gen. 1. 27, 28.

Cujus juſſu naſcuntur homines ejus juſſu conſtituuntur Principes. Irenæus.

2. It is as true in the ſecond place, that Believers are all one in Chriſt Jeſus, be they for Sex male or female, for Nation Jew or Greek, for Condition bond or free; all alike dear to him, being redeemed with the ſame price, and all equally near to him, *as members of that body of which he himſelf is the head.* From whence we may ſafely infer, that we ought not to carry our ſelves proud and diſdainfully one towards another, upon theſe outward differences and diſtinctions, ſeeing that *Cyrus* and *Irus*, King and Beggar, are made of the ſame mold, and to God are both alike; yea, 2 Conceſſ.

Inference upon both theſe Conceſſions as ſafe as true.

yea, all one in Christ Jesus. And as he hath given the King a Kingdom to rule in, so hath he given him a Book to read in for this very purpose, that he should fear his God, and that his heart should not be lifted up above his brethren. *Job* who was conceived by some to be a King, from a more inconsiderable Topick, argues himself into a posture of humility towards the meanest of his menial servants. *If I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they did contend with me, what then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?* But because Believers are all one in Christ, therefore either all must be Kings, or none must be Kings, is a plain wresting, and not the proper meaning of the Apostles words in that place: and a sense that makes him most absurdly contradict himself in that precept of his now under consideration, put them in mind that they be subject to principalities and powers. Indeed it could amount to no less then a very great absurdity to press that as a duty in one place, if before he took away that distinction that made it so in another.

Deut. 7. 18, 19, 20.

Jobs Argument.

Chap. 31. 13, 14, 15.

Sol. 2. By negation. Theirs unsound ad dangerous.

St. *Pauls* words wrested, himself grosly abused.

One

One thing more I have yet to offer from the words of the same Apostle in another place upon the same Subject, though written to another people; and whatsoever was written to either of them, was written for our learning, *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be, are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* From whence I inferr by the rule of contraries, that Doctrine cannot but tend to edification, whose contrary tends so certainly to destruction. A sad judgment it draws upon the guilty in their temporal, in their spiritual, and in their eternal concerns.

A further consideration offered for our vindication.

Rom. 13. 4. Chap. 13. 1, 2.

One inference A sufficient warrant for us to preach, and as great a danger to them if they do not practise it.

Firſt, In their temporal; Their calamity shall arise suddenly, in the very next Verse to the Text, *and whosoever will not do the Law of God and the King, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or unto confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.* A Law not peculiar to the *Persians*, but common to all other Nations that are under Kings, whether Christians or Heathens; without which indeed it were impossible to preserve their Authority inviolable.

1. In their temporal concerns *Ezra* 7. 26, &c.

violable. How many in our own time, and of our own Nation have been deservedly ruined, imprisoned, executed, upon this very account. And in the Scripture, besides particular persons that were contrivers of the Rebellion against *Moses* and *Aaron*, which with their Families and goods, were swallowed up of a miraculous and most remarkable judgment, to the horrour and astonishment of all that beheld it; they and all that appertained to them went down alive into the Pit, and the earth closed upon them; two hundred and fifty Princes of the Assembly are consumed by a fire from the Lord as they were offering incense: and fourteen thousand and seven hundred were swept away with the Plague.

Num. 16. 32.

Verse 35.

Verse 49.

2. In their spiritual. E. g. *David*.

Secondly, In their spiritual: When *David*, that man after Gods own heart, had but cut off the skirt of *Sauls* garment, his Conscience flies in his face, and his heart smote him, for that he shewed so little reverence and respect to the Lords Anointed; though he did it not with the least intent to injure his person, but to testifie his own innocency, and to convince him of his errour in causlesly pursuing him from place to place, that he aimed not at his life nor kingdom: but that not-

with-

withſtanding God who is the great diſpoſer both of Kings and Kingdoms had rejected him, and anointed himſelf, he had been, and was reſolved to be his moſt loyal Subject. In clearing his innocency he drew a guilt upon his Conſcience, which once wounded denied him all peace, till he had firſt made his peace with God. How many have we read and heard of, whoſe troubled Conſciences have been inſtrumental to the diſcovery of thoſe treaſons wherein both themſelves and others have been concerned either as principals or acceſſaries? 1 Sam. 24. 5.

3. In eternal.

Thirdly, In their eternal concerns: *They that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation*; which ſome underſtand of the temporal puniſhment inflicted by the Magiſtrate; or by God himſelf puniſhing the contempt of his own Ordinance on the contemners thereof. Some of eternal damnation not excluding the other; ſome judgment in the general, without ſpecification of any particular kind or ſort; leaving the Reader to his liberty to chuſe which he pleaſeth: becauſe indeed this ſin expoſeth thoſe that are guilty of it to all ſorts of judgments, both corporal, ſpiritual and eternal. And the Apoſtle gives a reaſon ſufficient enough to acquit the

Peter Martyr, Junius, and Tremel.

The Apoſtles reaſon acquits Gods juſtice.

the Justice of God in the severest punishment he can inflict upon them, because they resist the Ordinance of God, and so consequently God himself. As God sometime told *Samuel* much troubled at, and grieved with the peoples base ingratitude, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.*

He that resists the King, resists God.

1 *Sam.* 8. 9. As those that rejected *Samuel* are said to reject him.

Calvin though different in point of Church Government, yet sides with us in this point, to clear us, and to confute our Adversaries.

Calvin, whose authority with some is very great in the point of Church Government, to the disquiet both of Church and State, in his Book of Institutions placeth Magistracy under the general head of external means necessary to salvation; ranking it with the doctrine of the Church, of the Sacraments, of the Ministery, &c. intimating that it is as necessary in its kind or way, as any of the other; and by putting it in the last place, as it were to bring up the Reer, he seems to me to hint thus much to his Readers, that they cannot be compleat Christians, though they are Members of the Church by outward profession, though admitted her Members by the Sacrament of Initiation, and may seem to have attained some strength by the often hearing of the Word, and receiving the Lords Supper, which is the Sacrament of Confirmation; yet if they fail in their duty

duty to the Magistrate, they are but like the sullen Cow that yields a considerable quantity of Milk into the Pale, but as if she unthankfully grudged it to her deserving owner; kicks it all down with her unlucky heels; and this one ill Weed like, those wild Gourds, spoils the whole Pot of Pottage. And thus I have with as much brevity as well I might, cleared the Text of that rubbish which hath been cast upon it; keeping my self as close as I could to the matter in hand, neither running into extravagances, nor cloying the Reader with impertinencies, to fill up Paper or spin out a Discourse; but have offered what I conceive is very useful and necessary both, to convince the gainsayers, and to prepare attention to what I have further to impart upon the several parts of the Text in the method before proposed: and that first of the duty, *Fear*, which I shall handle both in its strictest and largest acceptation, as a particular duty, and as comprehending under it all those other which every man owes to God and the King upon the same account.

Simile.

2 *Kings* 4. 39.

The Text cleared of its Rubbish.

Of the Duty *Fear*, as it relates to the second Object; with the reason why the first is not insisted on *seperatim & per se*, but as implied in the other.

And here I shall bend my discourse chiefly to the last of these; not because the other is less necessary, but because this is most opposed, and their interests are so

conjunct. Neither will God accept of that Subjects fear as a discharge of his duty, which doth not proceed from the fear of himself, or that doth not fear the King for the Lords sake. That person lies under the repute of a practical *Atheist*, that professeth there is a God with his lips and yet will shew no reverence to him in his life. But those have passed in these late Times for the best of Christians, which have shewn none to their King; who with their specious pretences of Piety and Religion, have staggered some and made others afraid to fear their King; fearing if they should fear him, they should not fear their God.

1. Of *Fear* as a particular duty. Gods Image. Εἰκὼν ἡ Βασιλὶς ἐστὶν ἐμψύχου Θεοῦ. Gave his name to them. *In iis relucet Majestas ejus cujus nomen & vicem gerunt, &c.* The honour of his own Laws to theirs

This *Fear* in its first acceptation, is that free and voluntary reverence and respect which Subjects shew to their Princes for the Lords sake, as being the lively Images of his Power and Soveraignty over mankind: therefore he hath put his own name upon them, [*I said ye are Gods*] his Majesty shines forth in them, whose name and office they bear and execute; and in that so many millions of men are subjected to the Power and Government of one, and the good estate of all his Subjects depends upon him. Yea he hath communicated part of the honour of his own Divine Law

to

to their Civil Laws, in that they do (though not directly, yet) indirectly bind their Subjects consciences; that is to say, so far as theirs are agreable, or not repugnant to his. Who requires them to be subject, *not only for wrath but also for conscience sake; he hath anointed them with his holy oil*, or the oil of his holiness, signifying thereby their designation to, and qualification for their Office. As it is said of *Saul, when God made him a King, he turned him into another man, and gave him another heart*; 1 *Sam.* 10. 6, 9. And when upon *Moses* his complaint God divided his burden among the seventy Elders, he tells him withal, that *he would take of the spirit which was upon him, and put it upon them*: he hath set Crowns of gold upon their heads, put Royal Robes upon their backs, and placed Scepters in their hands, to draw a reverence to their persons, and to daunt offenders. Magnificent attire works a kind of awe, in the heart of the inferiour towards his superiour, and adds in the estimation of the people, both glory and honour, and majesty to their persons. Which is one reason of the High Priests costly garments, that they might draw the greater reverence both to his person and to his Ministry. To this purpose it

Rom. 13. 5. Hath anointed them. *Olio sanctitatis sue ad designationem & qualificationem denotat.* Mollerus. Put his Spirit into them. *Numb.* 11. 17. Crowns on their heads, Robes on their backs, Scepters in their hands. *Cultus magnificus addit hominibus authoritatem.* Quintil. Dr. *Prideaux in orat. inaugural. de vestibus Aaronis.*

Josephus. is storied of *Alexander* the Great, that when the High Priest met him in his Pontificalibus, he reverenced him, and adored the God of Heaven in him, whose Priest he was.

Given them Thrones for judgment, and sits in the Congregation among these Gods. *Psal.* 82. 1.

He hath given them Thrones for judgment, and though he hath Heaven for his Throne and Earth for his Footstool, yet he vouchsafeth to stand *in the Congregation of the mighty*, and to judge among these earthly Gods. This representation of him standing in such a place, among such persons, admonisheth us of sundry things worthy of our observation.

Sundry instructions from it.

1. That Empires and Kingdoms were not constituted at the first, neither are they since gotten or kept by the strength, prudence, or craft of men; but by his divine wisdom, and almighty power, who said of himself, *By me Kings raign*; and of them, *Ye are Gods.* *Prov.* 8. 15. *Psal.* 82. 6.

2. Secondly, That he so judgeth among these Gods, that if they either through negligence, or out of favour and affection do not execute justice, in the relieving the oppressed, and in punishing offenders, he himself will undertake the execution of it. And when he remembers the guilty Malefactors, he will hardly forget their corrupt and partial Judges.

3. Third-

3. Thirdly, This well weighed and throughly considered, would make even Princes themselves afraid to abuse their power and authority to tyranny and oppression; sith they were set in those places for other ends, by that God of Gods to whom they are accountable: and

4. Fourthly, Did their Subjects believe this to be a truth, they would not dare to judge those Gods, whom the Great God vouchsafeth to judge among: and to whom alone it belongs to be their Judge.

The means which God hath used to keep them from contempt.

It is furthermore well worth our notice what course he hath taken to secure Magistracy from contempt. As,

1. First, By prohibiting such things in them which may occasion it; not allowing in their Election any thing which might bring the least blemish upon it. *He that was wounded in his stones, or had his privy members cut off, was not to enter into the Congregation of the Lord:* such an one was not to be admitted into the place of Government. And why not? The same Author tells us, such for the most part are slothful, and of too low a spirit for so high a place, which requires men of courage and resolution, and such as fear not the face of any.

Deut. 23. 2, 3. *Ne venito*, i. e. *ne administrato* q. d. *munus publicum in populo Dei ut gnito.* Junius *in locum*

Hi fere ignavi & fracto animo esse solent.

Also *a Bastard shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the Congregation of the Lord*; *i.e.* neither he nor any descending out of his loins, because he is a Bastard. And why not a Bastard? because such a person is infamous. When the H. G. would brand the *Israelites* with a mark of the greatest reproach; he calls them *the seed of the adulterer and the whore.*

Nullus descendentium ex eo quia spurius est propter infamiam.

Names given to Bastards.

The Greeks call the children which come of such a sinful copulation ὕβριδες from ὕβρις, because they are subject to contumelies. The Hebrews call them Brambles. Such an one was *Abimelech*, who by the assistance of vain and light persons that he had hired, assassinated his brethren to prevent competitors: resolving to suffer never a rub in the way to hinder the running of his Bowl to the Jack which he aimed at. A right Bramble indeed, who grew in the base hedge-row of a Concubine, and scratched and drew bloud to purpose. *Mamzerim*, spots abroad; *Shatakim*, such as must say nothing when others are praising their Parents, because they are the reproaches of those that begat them, and the usual objects of other mens reproach also. *Jeptha*, though otherwise a very good man, was upbraided with this

Judg 9.14. *Abimelech* was a right Bramble.

Jeptha an exception from that general rule.

note

note of Infamy, *Thou ſhalt not inherit in our fathers houſe, for thou art the ſon of a ſtrange woman*, or a harlot; which was all one as if they had called him Baſtard. He was made afterward a Judge, and proved to be a Deliverer of the People. But it was in caſe of neceſſity, otherwiſe by the Law he was uncapable. A Law not made to puniſh the guiltleſs child, who ſhall never be called to an account for his Parents ſin, as it is their ſin, but to ſecure his own Ordinance from contempt, and for an admonition of chaſtity in regard of the infamy and contempt of ſuch a polluted poſterity.

Judg. 11. 2. Reaſon of it.

Neceſſity hath no Law.

Another end of that Law, beſide the former.

2. Secondly, As they are called to a more eminent place, ſo their converſation ſhould exceed the vulgar and common ſort. What an undervaluing cenſure did *Michal* paſs upon *David* dancing before the Ark? and with what reproachful language doth ſhe accoſt him? though he did it to teſtifie his religious joy: the only thing that could excuſe him, and all that he had to ſay to ſtop the mouth of Calumny: *How glorious was the King of Iſrael to day, who uncovered himſelf in the eyes of the handmaids of his ſervants, as one of the vain fellows ſhamelesly uncovereth himſelf!* *Bathſheba* giving good advice to

Requires that from them, as well as puts that into them, which may be attractives of this from their Subjects.

2 Sam. 6. 20.

Bathſheba's advice.

her *Lemuel*, i. e. her ſon *Solomon*, tells him, *Give not thy ſtrength unto women, nor thy ways unto that which deſtroyeth Kings. It is not for Kings, O Lemuel, it is not for Kings to drink Wine, nor for Princes ſtrong drink; leſt they drink and forget the Law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted.* It is expected from their advantage they have from their place and education, to tranſcend all others; that they ſhould live and converſe among men like Angels. If they (as one ſaith) ſhould play the Hogs and Monkeys, abaſing themſelves to childiſhneſs of ſpirit, and to a life corrupted with the curious delights and voluptuouſneſs of the body; this would be a thing as unreaſonable in its nature, as it is prodigious in its effects. Principality is due rather to deſerts then birth; and he raigns unprofitably, who is born, but doth not deſerve to be a King. The very derivation of their ſtile, minds them of performing actions that are ſuitable, which is, from doing good; and ſo long as they do ſo, they keep up their title: whereas in doing the contrary, in the account of their people they loſe it.

Prov. 31. 3, 4, 5.

What Gods expectation is from their place and education.

Cauſſin's Holy Court.

Chryſoſt. in Polycrat. lib. 4. Principatus non tam ſanguine quam meritis debetur & inutiliter regnat, qui Rex naſcitur ſed non meretur.

Rabanus *in Prov. 25. 5. Reges à rectè agendo vocati ſunt ideoque rectè faciendo Regis nomen tenent, peccando amittitur.*

And

And as God by these and the like provisions, hath bound Kings from occasioning it from their Subjects, so hath he by strict precepts tied Subjects from offering it to their Kings: imposing a restraint upon their actions, upon their words, yea upon their very thoughts.

As he would not have them deserve it, so he will not allow their Subjects to offer it.

1. First upon their actions; *Touch not mine anointed:* which though some are pleased to think mis-applied to Kings, yet a learned Divine of late Times undertakes to prove, that in that place and all others, where mention is made of the Lords anointed, it is to be understood of Kings, and no others; to whose works I refer the Reader for further satisfaction. This consideration startled *David*, and makes him stay *Abishai*'s hand; who tells him that he hath his enemy now in his power, and at his mercy; that God had delivered him up to him by an extraordinary providence, profers himself freely to be the executioner to give the fatal stroke, which should put an end to *Sauls* life and his own troubles. And *David* said to *Abishai*, *Destroy him not; for who can stretch out his hand against the Lords Anointed and be guiltless.*

Restriction on their actions. *Psal.* 105. 15. Dr. *Westfield* Bishop of *Bristol* his Sermon on *Psal.* 105. 15.

1 Sam. 26. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

2. Secondly upon their words; *Thou shalt not revile the gods, not the gods of the Hea-*

Exod. 22. 28.

Heathens; which were so only in their own foolish imaginations. God himself hath set us a pattern what we ought to speak and think of such; *For all the gods of the Heathens are Idols of silver and gold, the works of mens hands, which have mouths but they speak not, eyes have they but they see not, &c.* upbraiding them in another place, of the goodly matter whereof they are made, and the common use which the remainder of it was put to. *He burneth part thereof in the fire, with part thereof he eateth flesh, he roasteth roast and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, ha, ha, I am warm*; (speaking of the Chips that were hewen from those Blocks which these Blockheads adored.) Had they not been so, they would never have made gods of the residue, and resolve with as much zeal as if they had been the God that made them, to fall down before them, and worship, and pray unto them, and say, *Deliver us, for ye are our gods.* And when his own people for their sins in general, but especially for this sin of Idolatry in particular, had provoked him to wrath, so that he delivered them up into their enemies hands, and they thereupon implore him as their last refuge for deliverance; he Ironically bids them go to the gods whom they

Silver Gods. *Psal.* 95. 5. & 3154, 36.

Wooden gods. *Isa.* 44. 16, 17.

they had choſen, and cry to them. It is true, ſome of their gods were of better ranke and quality, *viz.* their Men-gods; who had they been immortal or immaculate, without father or mother, without beginning or end of days, as *Melchiſedec* is deſcribed, it had been the more tolerable: but they were ſo well known, that one of their own Authors hath written their Genealogy, or a Book of the generation of their gods. Some whereof were ſo notoriouſly wicked, that a good man would have ſcorned to accompany them when alive, and ſpit at the naming of them when dead. And yet ſuch ſots were they to worſhip theſe for gods, which ſcarce deſerved the names of men: and to weep, and lament, and howl for that which others made an argument to convince them of their folly, and to prove them the greateſt Fools in nature. If they are gods, why do ye weep for them? If they are men, why do ye worſhip them? Their mortalities confuted their deities to all but ſuch who had abandoned both ſenſe and reaſon. And though in a way of compariſon, we grant theſe to be better gods then the other, which were worſe themſelves; yet they were guilty of worſhiping others which were worſe then theſe:

The moſt tolerable were the mens gods.

The worst were their stinking Garlick gods. *O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in Hortis. Numina.*

these: such were there stinking Onion and Garlick, Garden gods. Of which one (by way of jeer) *Holy Nations ye must needs be that have such gods growing in your Gardens.* God by his own practice hath taught us that we cannot have too low thoughts, nor speak too contemptibly of such gods as these. And as it is related of the *Lyndans*, a People that worshiped *Hercules*, who thought that then they did their god the best service, when they railed most against him. So I am confident the more we slight all false Gods, the more respected we are of the true.

Lyndans. Those gods may be reviled.

Quest. What Gods.

Answ. ut manifestam faceret dicti vim subjungit, &c. Cyril *contra* Julian. These must not.

These are not the God that must not be reviled; the following words in the former place, explain the first; and that we might understand the true sense thereof, it is added by way of explanation, *neither speak evil of the Ruler of thy People.* When St. *Paul* was sent by the chief Captain to the *Sanhedrim* to be examined about something whereof he was accused, as better understood by them then himself; declaring the manner of his life, the High Priest commands some that stood by to smite him on the mouth; whereupon he calls him *whited wall.* Some whose curiosity had brought them thither to hear

his

his examination, thought him in an error, and rebuked him for it, *Revilest thou Gods High Priest?* In his Apology for himself, he pleaded *Ignoramus, I wist it not that it was the High Priest: For it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People.* Implying a confession that he had sinned, if he had said it knowingly. Yet it is conceived by some, who give it as the best answer against those who object his allegation against his own words, to prove him a transgressor; that he did not revile him, but sharply reprove him for commanding an unjust act to be done when he sate in the seat of Justice. Though these gods are not to be reviled, yet they are not to be flattered; as if their place were a priviledge to them to do what they list. *Acts 23. 1, 2, 3.*

Quasi honor qui præditi sunt esset vitiorum integumentum. Calvin *in loc.* The Tongue is not to be set at liberty which God hath restrained.

Considering therefore the Subject we are upon, *the fear of the King*; and what a restraint God hath laid upon his Subjects to bind their tongues to their good behaviour, that they should not transgress by such unbecoming language, altogether inconsistent with that reverend respect we owe unto them. I cannot approve of that saying of *Augustus*, that in a Free City mens tongues ought to be free: nor of that liberty under *Nerva's* Government,

In libera Civitate libras oportet esse linguas.

vernment, called, The liberty of every ones thinking what they would, and of speaking what they thought: which one that wrote of it, calls it a rare felicity of those Times, but ours have found it otherwise. And as little do I commend of their clemency, who have proclaimed the like to theirs, though they speak plausibly enough, and well becoming Christians as they were, who should forgive injuries; saying, if it proceeded from levity, it was to be contemned; if from madness, it was to be pitied; if of wrong, to be remitted. Yet (as Kings) they ought to have made better provision for the securing their own rights. For if it behoves natural Parents to maintain and uphold their authority over their children, and not fool it away by too much indulgency, which marrs many a child, and does invite them to a slighting, first of their precepts, and then of their persons: how much more the Fathers of their Country, lest they expose theirs and themselves to the contempt of their Subjects; whereby they will do a very ill office both to God and themselves, and to that authority which he hath given them; as undoubtedly they must needs do, who set at liberty those tongues which God hath confined. Such

ubi & sentire quæ velint & quæ sentiant loqui licet, rara temporum felicitas. Tacitus.

Theodosius. Honorius. Arcadius.

Si ex levitate contemnendum; si ex insania, commiserandum; si ex injuria, remittendum. Gellas.

Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum.

Such a melting ſpirit we find to have been in *David* toward *Shimei*, who little deſerved it; a perſon that by his deportment ſhewed as much of malice, ſcorn, and contempt, as ever Rebel could do to a Prince: both in picking out a time for his miſchief, (when his bitter tongue, compared to a ſharp ſword, might give him the deeper wound) 'twas when his own ſon had raiſed an unnatural Rebellion againſt him; which could not but be a great affliction to ſuch an indulgent father; and ſo conſequently this no ſmall addition to it. To him that is afflicted pity ſhould be ſhewn, but 'tis clear this miſcreant had forſaken the fear of the Lord in that he ſhewed none to the Lords Anointed; treating him with language fitter for a Dog then an ordinary Man; *Come out, come out*, (being himſelf more like one in his deportment, who mad with malice, flies in *Davids* face, and as mad dogs fall upon all in their way, and convey their venome where ever they faſten their infectious teeth; ſo he by his miſchievous tongue, the poiſon of his malice, fetching every word as far as Hell, from whence 'twas fired.) He came forth and curſed ſtill as he came, and caſt ſtones at him, and that which was worſe then ſtones,

Shimei's caſe examined at large, becauſe miſunderſtood by ſome, and abuſed by others.

Job 6.14.

2 *Sam.* 16.5,6.

An high affront.

stones, bitter words, more piercing then the sharpest pointed arrows, *Thou bloudy man, thou man of Belial*: such an affront as might well provoke the greatest Saint, try the patience of the meekest man upon earth, and exasperate him to take the next opportunity of revenge. And how easily might he have done it? it had been but one word speaking, *Go*, and *Abishai*, whose fingers itched to be doing, would in a trice have taken his head from off his shoulders; *why should this dead dog curse my Lord the King? let me go over I pray thee, and take off his head.* Had *David* been of a revengeful spirit, he would have readily embraced the motion, and seconded the offer with his *Fiat.* But behold! in stead of a Command, a severe check, and a strict prohibition; *What have I to do with you, ye sons of* Zerviah? uttering words sounding rather of encouragement then of punishment; as if he had been pleased with it, rather then provoked to the least displeasure by it; *Let him alone, let him curse.* St. *Ambrose* pondering upon this answer, after a little silence, breaks out into these words of admiration: *O the height and depth of his prudence, and of his patience! what a grand matchless invention is here to swallow contumely, and to turn hurtful*

How resented by *Abishai.*

Verse 9.

A matchless meekness.

O altitudo prudentiæ! O altitudo patientiæ! O devorandæ contumeliæ grande inventum! Ambros.

hurtful poiſon into wholeſome nouriſhment? this is far beyond the invention of Mithridates, from whom came that Confection that bears his name.

This, this is the beſt receipt to make a ſovereign Treacle of this Venomous Viper. The Lord (either by the ſecret impulſe of ſome evil ſpirit ſaith one, or by a ſecret command of his moſt wiſe providence) hath bid him curſe *David* ſay others, who ſhall ſay then why doeſt thou ſo? bid him he might, without any impeachment of his juſtice; ſith his will is the rule of right; and his judgments, though they may be ſometimes ſecret, are always juſt. Yet this not ſo ſecret neither, but that himſelf and others might by the puniſhment eaſily diſcern his ſin that cauſed it. That ſin which in the prohibition before quoted, goes under the name of *Reviling*, and *ſpeaking evil*, in another place is called blaſpheming; and as *David* confeſſeth, it came from the Lord, ſo he might well think God permitted *Shimei* to blaſpheme him; becauſe he by committing thoſe great and ſcandalous ſins of Adultery and Murder, gave an occaſion to others to blaſpheme his God.

Ex Vipera Theriacam. Piſcator.

A Copy this is, yea, ſuch a Copy that I may ſafely commend to the greateſt and beſt

A Copy for the beſt of men to write after.

beſt of men to write after, which would calm their ſpirits, and preſerve them in a ſmooth and even temper; and they would not (as too too many do) when afronted by the brawling of theſe dogs in the Metaphor, imitate that fooliſh cuſtom of theſe dogs in the Letter, Vent their anger at the ſenſleſs ſtone, never regarding the hand that ſent it.

Shimeis ſin no whit extenuated, either by what *David* diſcreetly ſaid, or meekly ſuffered.

His politick confeſſion, and feigned ſorrow.

But was *Davids* patience, or that conſideration that cauſed it, any extenuation of *Shimei's* ſin? No certainly, his malice was no whit the leſs againſt him for the one, nor his ſin againſt God for the other. He himſelf not long after confeſſeth upon his knees, *that he had done wickedly, yea very wickedly*; and fearing juſtly his deſerved vengeance for thoſe monſtrous exceſſes of his intemperate tongue, deprecates the imputing his iniquity unto him. His Petition was as well timed as worded, which was a hopeful *Omen* of a happy *ſucceſs*. It was juſt upon the time of his new election and inauguration into the Kingdom; which he auſpicates with an Act of Oblivion; of which he as well as others reaped the benefit, which ſecured them from the puniſhment of their former Treaſons: *There ſhall not any man be put to death this day, for do not I know that*

that I am this day King over Israel? Yes I do, and am resolved to exercise my kingly Prerogative in pardoning whom I please, and thee in particular, *Thou shalt not die.* A pardon to any mans thinking as full as free.

He is pardoned. *2 Sam. 19. 22, 23.*

And yet there are some that do limit and qualifie it in their Paraphrases upon it; thereby signifying he intended no more then thus; *I pardon thee for my part, and leave others to deal with thee as is meet for thy future offences; thou shalt not die by my command at this time.* A sense I cannot disapprove, considering a passage that fell from his own mouth a little before his death; who apprehending, as I conceive, the ill use that might be made of such presidents by men of rugged and perverse dispositions (who presuming of the like lenity, might when occasion was offered, ease their spleen by the like scurrilities) expresseth somewhat of trouble and pressure of spirit, not for his own sins mentioned before; for he had made his peace with God for those in his life time, and received his pardon from Heaven by the hand of *Nathan* his Seer. It was the Cases of those two Capital Delinquents, whose indempnity lay upon his Conscience, *Joab* and *himei*; the first for the murther of

Quod me attinet tibi condono, & falli judicium aliis relinquo, &c. Piscator.

David on his Death-bed troubled at it, and the supposed reason of it.

1 *Kings* 2.8. Giveth his son *Solomon* a charge concerning him. He is jealous of him.

Abner and *Amasa*; the other for cursing himself; *Thou hast with thee* (saith he to his son *Solomon* that was to succeed him) *Shimei the son of Gerah, which cursed me with a grievous curse, and I sware unto him by the Lord, saying, I will not put thee to death by the sword; now therefore thou art a wise man, and knowest what to do unto him, hold him not guiltless, but bring thou his hoar head to the grave with blood: i. e.* when he shall have added iniquity to iniquity, pay him home for new and old together. This *item* made him look more narrowly to his water, and to prevent any future insurrections through his means against himself, he confines him upon pain of death to his own house, which he was to build in *Jerusalem*, as a suspicious person, no further to be trusted then he might be seen; and when he had forfeited his life by transgressing his bounds, he is not only charged with a *clausum fregit*, a breaking his prison, but *thou knowest all the wickedness that thine heart is privy to, and what thou didst to David my father; therefore the Lord shall return thy wickedness upon thine own head, and Benaiah by his command went out and fell upon him that he died.* An act he knew so far from displeasing God, that he confidently

Commands him from *Bahurim* to *Jerusalem*, and there to build a house, *alias* a Kings Bench, and confines him to it, engageth his life for his true imprisonment, forfeits his bond, is charged with it, minded of his Treason, justly sentenced, and deservedly executed.

fidently promiseth himself Gods blessing for such due execution of justice.

Thirdly, God lays a restraint upon the very thoughts of their hearts, *Curse not the King, no not in thy thoughts*; threatning a strange detection, and by consequence a condign punishment. This difference we ought to observe between the Laws of God and Men. The first lays an obligation upon the inward man, that hidden man of the heart, the other only directly upon the outward man. *Eccles.* 10.20. The difference between the Laws of God and Man.

As for instance, *Thou shalt not commit adultery* is a Law both of God and man; but the question is, who is an Adulterer? The Law of God saith, *whosoever hath looked upon a woman to lust after, hath committed adultery already in his heart*; so that this brings under the guilt of that sin, not onely *him that defiles his neighbours bed*; but him also that hath eyes, and an heart full of adultery. But the Law of man calls him onely an adulterer that is convicted of the act, either by his own confession, or other sufficient evidence, he may look on whom he will, and lust after whomsoever he liketh, that reacheth neither the eye nor the heart. In two instances. I. *Matth.* 5.28.

Touch not mine anointed, and *thou shalt not revile the Gods*, these are Laws of 2.

Gods own making, to secure his Ordinance from injury and contempt. The Laws of men have made a like provision, though not in those very words; that whosoever shall speak such and such words, and do so and so, is guilty of high Treason, and upon conviction by due course of Law, shall suffer as a Traitor. Men may think what they will notwithstanding these Laws, which lay no hold of thoughts, as to them they are free enough; but the Law of God tells thee, thou art a Traitor to thy Prince, and a Rebel to thy God, if thou cursest his Vicegerent in thine heart.

The Doctrine applied, first to confute the old Proverb, and to convince them who think it true, that thoughts are free.

Thou therefore that art resolved to pay it with thinking, being confident that these gods by name understand not thy thoughts, which is peculiar to him alone who is a God indeed; and by nature this God who is *the searcher of the heart, and the trier of the reins*, will pay thee one day for thy thinking, *when he shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evil.* It is an observation of one, whose rash zeal for the *Geneva* Discipline, hath kindled such a fire of Contention in the bowels of this Church and Nation whereof we are members, as is not yet, and God alone knows when it will

Eccles. 12. 14.

will be throughly quenched; he endeavouring to suppress all extravagancies of this kind, and to keep mens thoughts in a due decorum towards those that are set over them; takes notice of a remarkable passage of St. *Pauls* Epistle to the *Romans* compared with another in the very next Chapter of the same. When in the first of them he calls for the reverence we owe to himself, he bids us offer our bodies to him. When for that subjection which is due from us to his substitutes, he will have every soul to be subject to them; not but that the reverence and subjection of both is due to both; that of the soul as well as that of the body, to God; and that of the body as well as that of the soul to the higher Powers. But to meet with that foolish conceit of some, who think this a safe Plea, when they go into Idol Temples and perform outward acts of worship as others do; that when they prostrate their bodies to Idols, they reserve their hearts to God; and also of those, who because they deny not the chief Magistrate the service of their bodies, would under that colour, exclude him from that reverence and respect that is due to him in their hearts.

Chap. 12. 1. Chap. 13. 1.

Cum de Dei cultu sermonem facit corporis veneration em exigit; ad subjectionem Principis delapsus animæ submissionem postulat, non quod utrique tum Deo tum Principi utriusque tum corporis tum animæ subjectio & obsequium debitum non sit, &c. Cartwright *in Eccles.*

He that hideth hatred with lying lips, is

Prov. 10. 18.

a fool. And what is he better, or how many removes is he from one that honoureth his King with his lips, and despiseth him in his heart? although he think himself a great deal wiser then those that speak what they think, to the hazard of their lives and fortunes; whereas he lives without fear of either, being taken by those who are strangers to his thoughts, for as good a Subject as the best, yet he is no better then a fool; who in the mean time forgets a God above him, who understands the most secret thoughts of his heart, and will manifest his folly to his shame and confusion before Men and Angels, when he shall be summoned to appear at Gods dreadful Tribunal, where (if he prevent it not by a true repentance) he shall be impleaded, convicted, sentenced, and condemned with all that rout of notorious Rebels and Traitors which have been since the beginning of the World to that day.

2. Against those which slip Gods bridle, or run away with the bit between their teeth, like those *Psal.* 124. *Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis?*

And sith I am entered upon the application, I shall take leave to prosecute it against those in the next place, who in those times wherein mens tongues were lawless, took the liberty to spit their venome into the face of Gods Anointed, our martyred Soveraign; slandering his foot-

steps

steps, and aspersing the best of Princes with the worst of crimes; crying out upon him as *Shimei* did against *David*, for a man of *Belial*, a man of bloud, charging all that was shed in our uncivil Civil Wars upon him, as the Author; this out of the abundance of their mouths have they spoken. For it is impossible their tongues could vent such loud lies, and such notorious slanders, were not their hearts overcharged with the gall of envy and spight.

Cor enim fellis livoris amarum per linguam instrumentum spargere nisi amara non potest. Bernard.

Others who would be thought more modest, begged of God in their publick devotions, that he would not charge that bloud upon his head, but upon his heart. And these seem to have more of charity, but whether they really had so, I leave to them to judge, who have so much of discretion, and so little of prejudice against so deserving a Prince, as to discover in it an implicit concession, if not an apparent charge of a horrid guilt upon a guiltless person: and whether it had not been more proper for them, who were the contrivers and promoters of that War which produced those bloudy effects? How seriously (in those Meditations and Prayers which he composed in his solitude and sufferings) did he invoke the great and omniscient God to witness his endeavours

They charge the War on the King as the Author.

Laid at the right dore.

He vindicates himself:
1. By a serious appeal.

for

for the diverting of the neceſſity of that War, which ſome mens ambitions firſt raiſed, and then falſly fathered upon him? And yet the confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues was ſuch, that they would almoſt make him ſuſpect his own innocency: that he could be content (by his ſilence at leaſt) to take upon himſelf ſo great a guilt before men, if that would allay the malice of his enemies, and redeem his people from the miſeries of War, ſith God knew his Innocency. Follow him to the Scaffold, where he was brought to take his farewel of the World; and from whence he was within a few minutes to go to give his account to God (and therefore no fit time nor place to diſſemble with either) how ſolemnly doth he diſclaim it? And for the fuller ſatisfaction of all his Subjects, (many whereof had been ſo miſerably deluded) he referrs them to thoſe Commiſſions on both ſides for raiſing their Armies; and wills them to take notice of their ſeveral dates, and they would find thoſe of his Enemies had the precedency, which animated and armed ſo many of his ſubjects againſt him. And from thence they might eaſily reſolve themſelves in that queſtion, who were the Aggreſſors? and that what he raiſed was upon the ſcore of ſelf-defence,

2. By his willingneſs to avert the neceſſity, and redeem his Subjects from the miſery of it.

3. By his Speech on the Scaffold.

4. By his infallible Argument.

They proved the aggreſſors, and what he did to be in his own defence.

defence, which the Law of God, of Nature, and of Nations allows, not only to Princes, but also to their meaneſt Subjects. He was brought to a ſad *Dilemma*, and profeſſeth, himſelf put to a hard choice, (having ſuch a love for his People, and ſo earneſtly deſired theirs) either to kill his Subjects, or to be killed by them.

A ſad *Dilemma*.

If I am violently aſſaulted, and can apprehend no poſſibility of ſaving my own life but by taking away his, who otherwiſe is reſolved to deprive me of mine; God diſchargeth me of the guilt of it, and chargeth his bloud upon his own head. If men will raiſe an Army, and therewith hunt after the precious life of their lawful King; and if they by the juſt hand of God periſh in that rebellious purſuit, where can any rational man think will that bloud lie as to the guilt, or be viſited as to the puniſhment of it, but on themſelves?

Rather kill then be killed is the Law of Nature, and is allowed by the Law of Nations.

Some have proceeded farther yet, even to imbrew their hands in the bloud of the Lords anointed; who (for the moſt part of them) have not been ſo ſenſible of cutting off the thread of his life, as *David* was for the cutting off the lap of *Sauls* garment; who was a Prince that exceeded *Saul* in his extraction, in his life and converſation, as much as *Davids* ſin fell ſhort of

3. Againſt thoſe who have broken his manacles with as much eaſe as *Samſon* did the green withs, *Judg.* 16. 9.

Their sin considered in the nature of it, and the most favourable construction put upon it. *Clamitat ad cœlum vox sanguinis, &c.* 2. In the degrees of it.

of theirs; who had his own innocence to extenuate it, besides the inconsiderableness of his crime in comparison of theirs, which by many aggravating circumstances is so heightned, that all the Records, sacred and prophane, from the beginning of the World to this day, cannot afford its parallel.

It is a fearful, yea a crying sin to shed the bloud of any person, and so tender is God of the precious life of man, that he will not hold those guiltless that strip him of the comforts of it, which are the very life of that life; but hath prohibited it, and will punish it as a degree of murder. The life of man in the best sense, is but a dying life, but such a life is so in a worse: and there is little difference between that and laying violent hands upon him; onely that they grant this favour (if it be a favour) to die by degrees. If there be any mercy in murder, I should think it lies in that (supposing his Peace to be made with God) that gives a man the quickest dispatch, and puts him soonest out of his pain. To grant a man a life to live in misery, is less eligible with some persons then death: and in some cases, the lingring delay of death is worse then death it self.

—proh sævior ense
Parcendi rabies concessaq; vita dolori.
Claud.

Tristior est letho lethi mora.

It

It is a Law long ſince enacted in the Parliament of Heaven, that *whoſo ſheddeth mans bloud by man ſhall his bloud be ſhed: yea if an Ox gore a man or woman that he die, he ſhall be ſtoned to death.* In which Law God the Law-giver diſcovered ſuch a deteſtation of that ſin, that he would not ſuffer murther to go unpuniſhed, no not in the bruit Creatures which underſtood neither precept nor threatning, to ſhew how ſeverely he would puniſh it in men that are endued with reaſon, and know what is good and evil. And what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of a ſin-revenging God, if they ſhall break through both of thoſe ſtrong fences to ſacrifice their Brothers bloud to their own malice, or to right their injured Reputation, which would gain more by paſſing by, then by puniſhing an offence; eſpecially, when there is ſo great a diſparity between the ſatisfaction and the provocation; and that there will certainly be a day of reckoning, which is moſt commonly in this life, when bloud will have bloud, which is the common price of bloud; and when for the taking away their Brothers life, they will be enforced by the hand of Juſtice to lay down, or rather pay down their own: this therefore muſt be a very great ſin. And

Gen. 9.6. Exod. 21.28.

3. In the ſubject. The bruit Beaſt not exempted, much leſs man.

The greateſt ſin we can commit againſt our brother.

4. In the Object: and aggravated by his innocency, *Exod.* 22. 2. &c. Killing in some cases, and of some persons, permitted, yea commanded: and the reason why.

And yet to shed the bloud of an innocent person, is of the two a far greater, and cries louder in the ears of God for vengeance then the former. For though God doth prohibit killing, yet in some cases he doth permit it, and in others doth command it; Witches, Conjurers, Inchanters, Idolaters, false Prophets, Sabbath-breakers, disobedient Children, Adulterers, all these have been sentenced to death by Gods own mouth. And how many have been sent out of the World before their time (according to the course of Nature) and have come to an untimely end, guilty of such crimes which makes them liable to death by the Laws of men? Every part was ordained for the good of the whole, and though God doth not allow any man to macerate, or mutilate his body out of humour or superstition; yet if any part be mortally infected which threatens the endangering of the whole, it is then both lawful, and a piece of discretion to take our Saviours advice according to the letter of it, which he intended in another sense, *if thy right hand offend thee cut it off*: with which agreeth that of the Poet.

--sin immedicabile vulnus (tur.
Ense recidendum ni pars sincera traha-

What

What this or that member is to the body natural, that is such and such a person to the body politick. *Achans* sin troubled all *Israel* so that they could not stand before their enemies. He was by Gods own direction first discovered, and after executed and cut off like a gangrened member, to prevent the ruine of all the rest. And without the execution of such severe Laws, no man could be secure either in his goods or life. *Josh. 7.*

But God doth no where allow the slaying of an innocent person. He that doth it, sins more against Charity? because such an one hath more of the image of God in him, which is the chiefest motive to it, against community, to which he is most profitable: either for his presence the Sun would not shine so merrily on the High-way, were it not for the bordering Fields sake: neither would God have so prospered *Laban* and *Potipher*, but for good *Jacob* and *Josephs* sake. Or for his Piety, in which respect he is very beneficial, not onely to that Family, or to that City wherein he lives; but to that whole Kingdom whereof he is a member; *The innocent shall deliver the Island, and it shall be preserved by the pureness of his hand.* The Kings of *Persia*, and of other Nations, had

But of innocent persons never allowed to any. Arguments to prove the exceeding sinfulness of it.

The whole Kingdom at a great loss by it. *Job* 22. 30.

had their *Mazkirim* Remembrancers, to mind them of those matters that concerned the Weal publick. Such are these to God, and blessed are the people that have such friends of God to befriend them: but wo be to those that injure them, for he that toucheth them toucheth the apple of his own eye. Among those many qualifications required of those who desire to dwell in Gods holy Mountain, this is one; *he must not take a reward against the innocent*, whether it be by the way of bribery, as *Tertullus* did against St. *Paul*; or to give in false evidence, as those suborned witnesses did against *Naboth*; or by way of treachery to betray innocent bloud, as *Dalilah* did her own husband, for an hundred shekels of silver; *Judas*, his Lord and Master for thirty pieces of the same metal; and the *Scottish Army* their King for *two hundred thousand pound*; thinking themselves by so much the wiser Merchants, by how much more they had made the better Market. Which several sums were the price of innocent bloud, and pity it is that all those purchases which such Merchants make of all such money, are not called by their proper names, *Acheldama's* Fields, or Purchases of Bloud.

They are Gods remembrancers, as the Persian *Mazkirim* were to their Kings.

Argumentum à minori.

Psal. 15. 5.

Acts 24.

Dr. *Hrylyn's Aerius redivi.* p. 468.

We

We may read Gods displeasure against this bloudy Sin, written in letters of Bloud, in those severe judgments recorded in Sacred Writ, to have been most impartially executed, even upon Kings themselves, when they have practised the like upon the lives of their guiltless Subjects. Two of this nature we find in the Old Testament; The first is the avenging the innocent bloud of *Nabaoth*, when *Ahab* was going to take possession of his Vineyard, God sent *Elijah* to him with this Message, *Hast thou killed and also taken possession? In the place where the Dogs licked the bloud of Nabaoth shall the Dogs lick thy bloud, even thine. I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity, and will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall, as well him that is shut up, as him that is left in Israel.* And also of *Jezebel* the contriver of his death spake he, saying, *The Dogs shall eat Jezebel by the Walls of Jezreel.* And although God did not bring all this to effect in *Ahabs* time, because he had humbled himself, yet if we compare the several Executions with their Sentences, we shall find them to accord very exactly. In the very next Chapter *Ahab* himself is slain as he fought against the King of *Syria*, and his bloud ran

Argumentum ab Exemplis.

Exemplified upon Kings punished for killing their guiltless Subjects.

On *Ahab* for *Nabaoth.*

1 *Kings* 21. 18, 19, &c.

On *Jezebel* the contriver.

Chap. 22. ran out of his wound into the Chariot; which when one washed in the Pool of *Samaria*, the Dogs licked his bloud. On *Jehoram.* 2 *Kings* 9.24. *Jehoram* his son was slain by *Jehu*, and his body cast out in the open Field. And in V. 32,33. the self-same Chapter, *Jezabel* was cast out of a Window, and her Carcass devoured by Dogs, excepting onely her scul, her Feet, and the Palms of her Chap. 10. 10. And the rest of the children for their Parents sake. hands. The next gives you a sad account of the rest; so that there fell nothing to the earth of the Word of the Lord, spoken concerning *Ahab* and his house, by his servant *Elijah*.

2. On *David* for *Uriah.* 2 *Sam.* 12. The other concerns that of *Uriah* whom *David* is said to have slain with the Sword of the Children of *Ammon*; because the design which brought him to his end, was laid by him, to cover his Adultery committed before with his wife. Whereupon it follows immediately, *Now therefore the Sword shall never depart from thine house. I will raise up evil against thee, out of thine house, &c.* How God punished Verse. 10. He is severely punished in his children. him in his children, the following Chapter, with several others, will satisfie any, who have a desire to inform themselves. He himself indeed died in peace, Though by repentance he escapes as to his person. because by his unfeigned repentance he had made his peace with God: in testimony

mony whereof, he hath left a Copy of it upon record, that those who stumble at his Fall, might be directed to rise again by his Example. But whoso seriously weighs some of those expressions, intimating the difficult recovery of Gods favour, which by those sins he had justly forfeited, will think it a point of sound discretion, rather to take the more diligent heed to their own standing. Psal. 51.

If it be so heinous a sin to take away the life of the body, a far greater and more heinous it must needs be to destroy the life of the soul. When we see men posting to destruction, and endeavour not to stop them by a seasonable reproof, we are after a sort guilty thereof. The Devil is called a Murderer from the beginning; not that he set upon our first Parents with a Sword, or any other murdering weapon; but with seducing words (saying, *In the day that ye eat thereof your eyes shall be open, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil*) he procured their fall: and questionless he is no less guilty that lies in wait to deceive and draw others into Schism, Heresie, Rebellion, and such like fruits of the Flesh, which had their beginning from Hell, and will have their end in damnation.

Inference against Soul-Murderers. *Tot occidimus quot ad mortem ire quotidie tepidi & tacentes videmus.* Greg. in Ezech. *Homicida dicitur Diabolus non gladio armatus, non ferro accinctus; ad hominem venit verbum seminavit & occidit, noli ergo putare te non esse homicidam quando fratri tuo mala persuadeas.* Aug. in Joh. 8.

Yet how many have this to anſwer for, who as yet go as upright under their guilt as *Sampſon* under the Gates of *Gaza*? Not that I take upon me peremptorily to cenſure, or finally to determine the future eſtate of any; God might ſhew them mercy between the Bridge and the Water: and with as much eaſe ſave a Souldier gaſping upon the ground, as he did the Thief dying upon the Croſs. But ſuppoſe (the beſt) that he did give to many that fell in that unjuſt quarrel, that mercy firſt to ſee their ſin to repentance, and that next to pardon it; yet, no thanks to thoſe who did engage them: who were ſo far from ſounding a retreat to countermand their Proſelites, that they have given but ſmall evidence to the World of their own repentance. Yet notwithſtanding this, if we grant (which is too poſſible) that ſome of thoſe poor ſeduced ſouls did die in their ſin; it is eaſie to read at whoſe hands God will one day require their bloud. The inference is genuine though ſomewhat beſide my purpoſe, I ſhall therefore inſiſt no further upon it, but leave it with this hearty wiſh to thoſe, for whoſe ſakes I have made this ſhort digreſſion that they may be as ſenſible as it ſelf is ſeaſonable.

Inter Pontum & Fontem.

God will require the bloud of the Seduced at the hands of their Seducers. *Ezek.* 3. 18.

An Apology for the digreſſion.

My

My buſineſs is (as a Solicitor for the King of Kings) to draw up a Charge againſt a rebellious Nation, or rather a rebellious Faction in the Nation; for that (not having the fear of God before their eyes) have traiterouſly and wickedly imagined, conſpired, and compaſſed the death of the Lords Anointed. I have ſhewed already how God deteſts that crying ſin of Murther, and with what dreadful fury the Avenger of bloud did purſue the Murtherers. But alaſs! thoſe inſtances fell as far ſhort of this, as there is of difference betwixt the Objects on whom the murthers were perpetrated. Thoſe were Homicides acted on Subjects, this a Regicide committed upon the perſon of Gods Vicegerent, and their lawful King: who in the ballance of the Sanctuary, which is exactly even, outweighs ten thouſand of the other. Some thing of reſemblance to this I find in both the former; namely, in the cloſe and cunning contrivance; more yet between this and the former of them, in that both that and this were carried on under the ſame colours of Religion and Juſtice [Proclaim a Faſt:] ſo theſe under a pretence to ſeek God, moſt blaſphemouſly intitling him to the worſt of Villanies. Had they indeed

Rebellion arraigned with her chief Actors and Acceſſaries.

The charge enforced, and her crime aggravated from the quality of the Object Regicide. 2 Sam. 18.3.

Wherein this reſembled thoſe before mentioned.

when first ingaged in that design, searched the Scripture, as good Christians should daily do, which conteins in it the revealed mind or will of God, to which all are bound to apply themselves for resolution in all their doubts. Their eyes would have dropped out of their heads, ere they could have found so much as the least colour of a Precept, or warrantable President for their proceedings, had they consulted the thirteenth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, which troubles a Rebel as much to read, as (some say) it doth a Witch to say the Lords Prayer; it would have put a bar to all further attempts, and in stead of taking away their Soveraigns life, would rather (as *Benhadads* Ambassadors) with badges of their deserts have implored his pardon to secure their own. And this they might have done upon as firm a ground of hope to speed; because that King was as merciful as ever was any of the Kings of *Israel*.

Rom. 13.

Benhadads Policy if practised, might have saved his life, secured their own, and prevented the loss of many thousands of their fellow Subjects.

But that is not the onely fence that God hath made for the safeguard and security of Princes. I have before quoted other places which speak their Authority to be so sacred, that God will not allow their Subjects so much as the liberty of their thoughts against them. We

We read indeed of many Regicides in Sacred Writ and prophane Story, but they acted it privately, these in the face of the Sun.

Last Argument aggravating it above all Murthers of the same kind as without parallel.

One instance there is indeed in the New Testament, and but that one, the murdering of a King too, and he higher then the highest Monarch upon Earth, the Lord Jesus Christ, that Prince of Peace; barbarously crucified between two Thieves, as if he had been, yea, the greatest of the three: to whom as few Kings ever came so near in their lives, so none ever did in so many circumstances of his death. Yet this even this instance of this King, though it doth even in many things exceed ours as far as Heaven exceeds Earth, and God exceeds Man, in this one circumstance falls short; that those that were the Contrivers and Promoters of his death, never did, nor never would, from first to last, own him for their King: but when *Pilate* asked that question, *Shall I crucifie your King?* they returned this answer, *We have no King but Cæsar*; and when he had caused this Superscription to be written in three several Languages, which sounds thus much in ours, *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews*; they abhorring to own the crucifying him under that title, desire him

That of our Saviours by the Jews, his own Subjects, came nearest to it.

In some things exceeds it.

But in one circumstance falls short, and that a very material one too.

Job. 19. 19, 20, 21.

to alter it, *Write not the King of the Jews, but that he said, I am the King of the Jews.*

Obj. The greatest part of the Nation plead *Not Guilty* to the Indictment.

It may be some will object in the words of the Disciples to the Woman in the Gospel, pouring that costly ointment upon our Saviours head; What needed this waste of words, sith the greatest part of the Kingdom had neither hands nor hearts engaged in it? To these I have to answer, that *David* was at a great distance from *Uriah* when he received his deaths wound, and yet he prays apparently in reference unto that, *Deliver me from bloud-guiltiness, O God.* Whence I infer that a man may be guilty of anothers bloud never shed; if so, though but few principals in the shedding of this, there were very many accessaries; either by actually opposing, or not personally assisting him according to our bounden duty, either by their persons, or by their purses.

Sol. Those were guilty that ingaged not for him, though not in so high a degree as they that fought against him. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* He that fights against him with his purse, if a Volunteer, is as bad as he that fights against him. Our Laws say *Rex non moritur*, which is always true *quoad jus*, not so always *quoad potestatem*, exemplified in our late *Interregnum.*

Moneys are the sinews of War, and had not they so readily sacrificed their Wealth to the pleasure of their Grandees, their design must have been nipt in the Bud, and proved rotten ere it had been ripe. This, this is that that suborned the Witnesses, that feed the Counsel, that bribed

bribed the Judge, that paid the Executioner for ſtriking that fatal ſtroke which made the body both of our King and Kingdom headleſs.

All this that I have ſaid to aggravate the crime, is not (God knows) out of any delight I take to rake in thoſe rotten Ulcers and feſtered Sores; but in order to that which follows, and which our ſin calls upon us loudly for our great humiliation. To which purpoſe our Anniverſary Faſt enacted on that ſad occaſion, renews the memory of our guilt, and directs us with renewed Repentance to deprecate the puniſhment; leſt we forgetting it to God, God ſhould remember it to us, in ſuch a way as we would not willingly hear of it.

The Authors Apology for his ſevere application.

Infandum— jubes renovare dolorem.

The Prophet *Jeremiah* hath written a whole Book of *Lamentations* for the death of good *Joſiah*, which was the fore-runner of thoſe many miſeries to the Jewiſh Church: and his Subjects expreſſed the ſenſe of their loſs by his fall, ſo deeply and pathetically, that it was made for an Ordinance unto *Iſrael*, and propoſed as a Pattern for future times in their moſt important occaſions. *In that day there ſhall be a great mourning in Jeruſalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of*

Judah had great reaſon to lament the loſs of their good *Joſiah*; but we greater for the death of ours.

Zech. 12. 11.

of Megiddon. Surely it behoves us in our mourning (if possible) to exceed them. Their King *Josiahs* fall was an effect of his own rashness and folly; but the fall of ours was both by, and for our sins. This (in short) I commend as reflecting upon what is past, and propose this as a proper expedient for the time to come, to break off our Sins by Righteousness, our former Rebellion by our future Fidelity. And sith all our tears (were every one of our Eyes Fountains) would prove ineffectual to restore to life, him whom some have been so eminently instrumental, and all have been one way or other accessary to bring him to his end; what we fell short in duty to the dead Father, let us make up in love and loyalty to his living Son; his rightful Heir and Successor; whose unparallel'd act of Grace (when we lay under the danger of so great a forfeiture) cannot but indear him to all his rational Subjects: The benefit whereof I envy to none, but do heartily wish that some would study better to deserve it. And so I pass from this fear, here strictly taken, as it signifies a particular duty which every individual Subject ows to his Prince; and come to consider it in its latitude as more comprehensive, including all

Wholsome advice.

all other duties payable to him upon the ſame account.

It is not unknown to any that ſtudy the Senſe as well as the Letter of the Scripture, that Fear, when it relates to God as its Object (as it doth here in the firſt place) oftentimes ſignifies his whole Worſhip; as it doth in all thoſe places in the Margine. The Fear of the Lord makes a man very diligent and careful that he leaves no good duty undone which God would have him do; and it is as common in the Scripture, when he intends to preſs the whole duty of Inferiors to their Superiors; to name onely ſome one leading duty, which being expreſſed, the reſt which are as it were under its command, muſt be underſtood; as honour to Parents, ſubmiſſion to Husbands, obedience to Maſters, as here Fear to Kings and Princes.

Fear a very comprehenſive Duty.

Deut. 6. 13. *Pſal.* 112. 1. 128. 1. *Acts* 10. 35. *Qui timet Deum nihil negligit; timere Deum eſt nulla quæ facienda ſunt bona prætrire.* Greg. Moral.

This (whether ye refer it to God or the King) is to all other Duties, as the Heart is to all the other parts of a man; and when God calls for that, *My Son give me thine heart*, he leaves not the reſt to our own diſpoſing. He made man, that is, the whole man, and every part of man for himſelf, and purchaſed both body and Soul at a price: there is great reaſon that

It is like the Heart.

Prov. 23. 26.

1 *Cor.* 6. 20.

that the Workmanship should serve to the use of the Workman; and that which was bought at so dear a rate, should be serviceable to him that bought it: in calling for that, he calls for all; and he that in answer to that call of his, presents him with that gift, he together with that gives him all. Like the Centurion in the Gospel, it is in great Authority, it hath all the rest as Servants at its beck: *it saith to one go and it goes, to another come and it comes, to another do this and he doth it.* If God have the Heart, the Tongue will shew forth his praise, the Ear will be open to his Word, the Eye will be turned away from Vanity, and behold the wonderful things contained in his Law; the Hand will do the thing that is good, and the Feet will run the way of his Commandments. Even as it is with the great Wheel of a Clock or Watch, if that be at fault, the rest cannot be regular in their motion; if that be right the rest will answer it: so if God hath this, or have it not, he hath either all or none at all. And so it is with this Fear of the King; where this is seated in the heart, all other duties will accompany it: they will be subject to his Laws, loyal to his Person, make a charitable construction of his failings and infirmities,

Like the Centurion. *Matth.* 8. 8.

Like the great Wheel of a Clock.

Its Attendants as it refers to the second of these Objects, the King.

mities, pray for him, and pay unto him what is legally charged upon them for the ſupport of his Grandure, and to defray the charges of his Government. Of all which in their Order.

Firſt, They will ſubmit themſelves to thoſe Governours that are ſet over them in the Lord, and honour them by performing all dutiful obedience to them, according to that general rule given by the Apoſtle to all that are under Government; *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers*, the original word ſignifies an orderly ſubjection, or the placing, or ſetting one thing under another in due order. As amongſt the Elements, the Water under the Earth, the Earth under the Air, and the Air under the Element of Fire. In the Body Natural, the ſeveral parts of it under the Head, and each of thoſe parts one under another. In the Family, the Wife under the Husband, the Children under their Parents, the Servants under their Maſters. In the Common-wealth, which is a Body Politick, the Subjects under their Princes. The whole Body of that Common-wealth will then flouriſh, when every one of its Members acts vigorouſly within its proper ſphere; when there is an orderly

Subjection.

Rom. 13. 1.

Chryſoſt. in Polycrat. Tunc totum Reipublicæ corpus vigebit ſi ſingula quæque loca tenant, membra ſi fuerit officiorum non confuſio ſed diſtributio.

ly distribution; and not a wild confusion of Offices.

The Seeds of which Subjection the God of Order hath sown among those Creatures which are without Reason, Bees, Cranes, Fishes, *&c.* which have one above them, under whose conduct they go forth to feed, and so return. And although it be no Miracle, yet it is a wonder which is noted of the Pismire, which hath no Guide nor Governour; and of the Locusts, which have no King, and yet go forth all by Bands, flying in Troops; some turning one way and some another, like divers Squadrons of an Army; and men may be as well sent to them to learn Concord, as to the Ant for Industry and discreet Providence. Yet this is no disparagement to Government, which the sad effects of the want of it, commends and cries up for necessary, and that among rational men, who have Reason to guide them; yea, among those men which were acted by a higher principle then that, *viz.* Religion. *When there was no King in Israel, every one did that which was good in his own eye.* How doth Piety and Religion languish, Idolatry and Prophaneness flourish? And if there be confusion, as there must be when there is

Prov.6.6. Chap.30.27.

Judg.17.6. Chap.18.1. Chap.21.25.

no

no order: The Scripture tells us what will follow upon it, *every evil work.*

God hath ordained Government and Governours as a Hedge, or Fence to keep men secure in their Religion, Lives, Liberties, Estates, and Proprieties. And the blessed Apostle exhorting to pray for Kings, gives this as a chief Argument to enforce it, *that under them we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.* This Hedge being once removed, all goes to rack. It hath been sufficiently observed by several sad experiences, where God hath suffered the Enemies of it so far to prevail; and those who have designed to prey upon either or all of these, have levelled their Batteries against Magistracy, as the chiefest fortress of their security.

James 3. 16. Government a Hedge.

1 *Tim.* 2 1, 2.

That pulled up, all goes to ruine.

What a bloudy Tragedy doth *Germany* and some parts of the *Netherlands* present us with, acted by the Anabaptists in their several Scenes of Mischief? To which this was preached by their Ring-leaders, as the most proper Prologue; and that pretended as a Revelation from Heaven too; that the Empire and Principalities of this World, were to be extirpated; and that the Sword of *Gideon* was put into their hands to be employed against

Exemplified by the Anabaptists proceedings in *Germany*, &c.

against all Tyrants for the assertion of true Liberty, and the restauration of the Kingdom of Christ; by whom Religion it self is brought upon the Stage in a strange disguise, and made to act her part in what was most contrary to her nature; imbruing her white and innocent hands in Bloud and Massacres? What strange pretences are here? as if those had not been Christians to whom St. *Paul* gave that precept; yes certainly they were so: and he in that doth as certainly imply, they being such, that nothing in Christianity ought to be pretended, or made use of to give any man immunity from his obedience to the Higher Powers.

J. D. his Epistle to his *Apocalypsis*, or History of the Anabaptists.

In the Kingdom of Christ this is wonderful, saith a learned Author, that he wills and commands all Princes and Potentates to be subject to his Kingdom, and yet he wills and commands likewise, that his Kingdom, that is, the Subjects of his Kingdom be subject to the Kingdoms of the World: intimating that their spiritual freedom which they have, and do enjoy under him, from Sin, Satan, and Damnation is not repugnant to the corporal subjection due to them: and that the same person may be both a Christian and a Subject, as well as a Christian; and yet notwith-

Their grosse Error refuted. *Zanch. Misc. Epist. Dedic.*

withstanding a Wife, and must be subject to her Husband; a Child, and must obey his Parents; a Servant, and so consequently must do service to his Master. Yea further, Their obedience and subjection is a part of their Religion; and so essential a part, that he that is not a good Subject, cannot be a good Christian.

Subjection an essential part of the Christian Religion.

And however all that go under that name are not subject as they should be, I must tell them, that neither Christ, neither any good Christians can account them so; but spots and blemishes of that glorious Profession, exorbitant persons that make themselves a Dispensation, and take liberty to do what they list, without any regard to what their Superiours command them; making it only a matter of complement, and no concern at all of Conscience; though afterward urged by the same Apostolical Authority, upon that very account. *Rom.* 13. 5.

How loth are some to stoop to Authority, and to submit to the practice of so indispensable a duty? As if it were in it self a thing too much beneath a free and ingenious spirit. Whereas in truth it is rather an argument of a generous mind, not deviating from the Law of Creation, willingly to subject it self to its betters.

Applicat. 1. *Non est vilis & abjecti animi indicium, sed generosi & à lege Creatoris, non deviantis prompte & lubenti animo subjici melioribus.* B. *Davenant in Coloss.* 3.

Insomuch that the very Heathens could say, *It is an easie matter to govern such as are good, but a difficult task to govern such as are bad*, who account submission a yoak too strait and uneasie for their stiffned necks.

Facile imperium in bonos: pessimus quisque asperime retorum patitur.

2. Non-conformists apparently defective in this duty.

Others, who seem willing to comply with the commands of their Superiours in matters of civil concernment; yet fain would be their own carvers, and be left to their own liberty in Ecclesiasticals; especially in those things which are *adiaphorous* (*i. e.*) of a middle and indifferent nature; as if that God who is the God of Order, and both commands and approves of it in all other Societies of men, would allow of, or excuse confusion in his own House.

In what the power of Kings chiefly consists.

The power of Kings consists chiefly in things of that quality, which if they are abridged of, they are in effect but meerly titular, and signifie as little as so many Cyphers without a figure. Whatsoever comes within the compass of the Moral Law, either as a Duty to be done, or as a Vice to be eschewed; the one must be done, and the other left undone, whether or no the Magistrate second it with his command or prohibition: What needed then that Precept of obeying Magistrates? he that will

will not obey God, will not obey Man commanding the ſame thing with God freely and willingly: and he that obeys what God commands, being awed thereunto by the Precepts of men, the Prophet hath left us ground enough to judge by, what approbation, or acceptation that obedience is like to find at the hands of God. Iſa. 29. 13.

Every Duty which falls under a Moral Precept, hath ſome Ceremony or other neceſſarily accompanying it, as the Shadow doth the Subſtance in the cleareſt day. I inſtance in a mans geſture in Prayer, whether it be ſtanding, walking, leaning, kneeling, lying, either upon the back, ſides, or proſtrate, or any other way, (if there can be any other) as we read of ſeveral men that have uſed ſeveral of theſe, which the Scripture rather deſcribes then preſcribes, and it is impoſſible he ſhould do it but in ſome of theſe, or ſuch like: but in which of theſe he ſhall pray, there is not one word of command for this, or that, or any; yet notwithſtanding, it is very requiſite that they which meet together in the ſame place, to ſerve the ſame God, ſhould be both unanimous and uniform, joyn together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame form; as it

Circumſtances as inſeperably linked to Duty, as thoſe accidents, ſo called, are to their ſubjects, which cannot be parted without the apparent deſtruction of both, exemplified in the geſture of Prayer.

is noted in the people in *Ezra*'s time, when he opened the Books to read, all ſtood up; but when they praiſed the Lord, they all bowed themſelves. Diverſities of geſtures cauſe diſtinction, and hinder devotion, being uſually attended with prepoſterous cenſuring one of another, to prevent which the Apoſtle hath left a ſtanding rule to order all things of this nature by: *Let all things be done decently and in order.* And the next beſt rule that we can obſerve to uphold and maintain that order, is to comply with that Church wherein we live, and whereof we are members, in ſuch commendable geſtures as ſhe preſcribes and practiſeth. It cannot but be looked upon as a thing very indecent and diſorderly, when in compliance with that Catholick and Apoſtolick Conſtitution, the Governours of our Church (among whom we acknowledge the King, next under Chriſt, to be Supream) have ordered this or that, for private men in their practices to control their publick judgment: Beſides, what it argues of pride and ſingularity, from which their own faireſt pretences cannot clear them; nor the greateſt charity of others excuſe them. So heinous a thing in the judgment of that very Apoſtle was Viola-

Nehem. 5. 6.

The ill conſequences of leaving every man to his liberty.

A general Apoſtolical rule for ordering things of this nature by.

Who have power to regulate thoſe things.

Violation of Church Orders; that Contumacy therein deserved a censure little less then Excommunication, commanding to *withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the instructions which they had received.* What hath been said of Gestures in Prayer, might have been said of Vestures in the publick Administration: which come under the same consideration, and belong to the same general Rule.

2 Thess 3.6.

Vestures in the publick Administration under the same rule.

But what if a lawful Power command an unlawful thing, what must the Subject do in such a case? The Question carries its answer within it self; the Command is unlawful therefore it must not be obeyed, *i.e.* actively: the Power commanding it, is lawful, therefore must not be resisted. Princes have not an absolute and unlimited Authority over their Subjects; neither must they give an absolute and universal obedience unto their Princes. We are bound to obey those that are set over us by the Lord, only in the Lord. He that made such a one a King, is more a King himself, then he is whom he made so; being *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords,*: therefore when he shall command contrary things, *whether it be right in the sight of God, to obey man rather then God,*

Quest.

Answ.

The common Case falling under this Head, resolved

Propter quod unumquodque est tale idipsum est magis tale. Aristotel. Acts 4.29.

God, judge ye. Surely, as *Peter* and others of the Apostles said in such a case, *We ought rather to obey God then men.* From whence we may learn how far the Office of the Magistrate doth extend, what respect we ought to shew towards him, as being in Gods stead; and how far we must follow his command with our obedience. No farther then he therein follows the commands of God; where he leaves God, there we must leave him. Such an absolute obedience, stretched to things repugnant to the Word of God, can neither be safe for that King that shall require it, nor for that Subject that shall give it. Happy had it been for *Jeroboam*, had not his idolatrous Decree met with such an easie compliance in his People: their magnifying him above what was meet, brought destruction upon him and his; and hath left such a blot upon his name, as shall never be taken off so long as the Scripture continues that records his Historie, which stigmatized him to all posterity, in this reproachful character, *Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.* Neither will the Princes command be of any force to extenuate his Subjects sin before God; nor take off so much as an unite in the number of his decreed stripes

Acts 5. 29.

Ex quo doctemur quatenus se extendit officium Magistratus, deinde quanta obedientia ei à nobis colendus sit quo loco Dei. Denique quando licitum ab eo discedere. Aretius in Act. Apost.

Absolute obedience not safe either in Kings commanding,

2 *Kings* 10. 31.

Or in their Subjects obeying.

ſtripes. Thoſe Executioners of the three Children could have produced *Nebuchadnezzars* Commiſſion for caſting them into the Fiery Furnace; and yet within two Verſes ye may find *them* conſumed to aſhes with the very flame of that Fire which they had kindled, and into which they caſt thoſe innocent perſons. It is the Remarque of a learned Expoſitor upon the very inſtance, becauſe they did yield obedience to the King in ſo wicked and unjuſt a Decree; therefore they were worthily deſtroyed. Unlawful Commands muſt not be obeyed

Dan. 3. 19, 20, &c.

Dr. willet in loc.

In ſuch a caſe the Subject muſt fly to his Arms, ſuch as are Prayers and Tears; which are all the Weapons that his holy Mother the Church will allow him upon ſuch an account. As to any other, our Saviour Chriſt hath given a very ſtrict inhibition with a menacing *ſub pœna: he that taketh up the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword.* Chriſt reprehending that raſh act of *Peter* admoniſheth us, that *we ought not to take up the Sword under pretence of the Goſpel; but in times of Perſecution to encounter all difficulties, armed only with Prayer and Patience.* This was the practice of thoſe Primitive Chriſtians, who lived under the Government of Heathen

What to do in that caſe? *Ad preces & lachrimas quæ ſunt arma Eccleſiæ.*

Mat. 26. 52. *Pugna Petri à Chriſto reprehenſa monet nos eſſe pretexta Evangelii rapiendum gladium, &c. Chytræus in loc.*

Emperours, notwithstanding they wanted not a considerable Party to have made resistance.

Tertull. Apol.

How basely then do they detract from the deserved praise of those glorious Martyrs, who willingly offered their bodies as a Sacrifice to their Persecutors rage, rather then to transgress the commands of God. Which some have imputed rather to their want of Power then Will, that they did not repel one force with another; as if they had made a Vertue of Necessity: and that if they had been furnished with men and Arms, they would have resisted rather then have suffered. A great Promoter of our late Divisions, pinched as it seems with the force of the forecited allegation out of that learned Father, very nimbly cuts asunder that knot which he saw with all his skill he could not untie; so as to give satisfaction to any ingenious Reader, who was willing (as all should be in a business of that consequence) to try before he trusted, censuring the Author of that Apology for a bad Statesman, and a worse Arithmetician; and at length musters up his errours to overthrow his authority; charging him with Montanism. True it is, he did so strangely admire tha: blasphemous

Vim vi repellere

A base construction made of the patient sufferings of the Primitive Christians.

Nodus Gordianus.

1 *Joan.* 5. 21.

Tertullians Errours discovered, to invalidate his Authority.

Here-

Heretick, that *Erasmus* could not perswade himself that he was in earnest. As dead Flies cause the Ointment of the Apothecary to send forth a stinking savour, so doth a little Folly him that is in reputation for Wisdom and Honour.

Nec mihi persuadere potest hominem tam acris judicii sic in divinis litteris exercitatum credidisse Montanum fuisse Sp. Sanct.

But though this *Anti-Tertullianist* in his *Anti-Cavileerism*, is pleased to slight the Works of that Author upon the former, and some few other considerations; yet as profound Divines as himself have as highly prized them. Not a day passed *Cyprian* but he read something of them. *Vincent. Lyran.* assigned him the first place among the Latine Fathers, as I think I may safely do to him among those (if there be any such besides himself) that have ranged *Tertullians* Apologetical Orations among his Errours; and may not we with the same Tool as easily dissolve his *Gordian* Knot? and answer those Authorities which he produceth in opposition to the former, *viz.* that of the Peoples rescuing *Jonathan Sauls* son from the destructive consequence of his Fathers rash Oath: and that of *David* his raising an Army to defend himself? Sith both the one and the other were guilty, questionless, of several miscarriages, and therefore might possibly err in those, as

A pestilent Pamphlet Printed in the times of the Rebellion.

In what esteem he was with *S. Cyprian. Vincent. Lyran.*

1 *Sam.* 14. 43, 44, 45.

Chap. 22. 1, 2.

A pretty way to evade the force of an Argument, which we cannot answer.

as well as in other of their actions. But I conceive it may be done in a great deal fairer way, by making it appear these instances are not so parallel as he would make the World believe they are to his business there in hand. The first instance is brought (so far as my memory serves me) to justifie that affront put upon the King, when he demanded those impeached Members to be delivered up to Justice. These agree like Harp and Harrow; if the one were by Arms, the other only by Arguments. *Jonathan*'s rescue by a dissuasive intercession, theirs by a forcible opposition. The last cannot be denied by any, the other is affirmed by many; and those of no small esteem in the Church: whose judgments seem to be very much favoured by the Context:

The first instance misapplied, as appears by the sense commonly given of it, which hath a great deal of probability to second it.

1 *Sam.* 14. 45. *And the People said unto Saul, shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid: as the Lord liveth there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day.* Here are words spoken, no swords drawn: unless as *Goliahs* sword lay wrapt up in a cloth behind the Ephod, so these should lye concealed in the word Rescue. But if this rescue might be made without force, (as it is possible it might)

1 *Sam.* 21. 9.

and

and very probable it was so; and Charity enjoyns us to make the most favourable construction) where then is the force of this instance? One indeed that sided with the same Party, is of that mind with himself; but then he is so far from approving it, that he dislikes and condemns it. They should not have done it by force, but by humble supplication. And if he blame those for doing that, he could not commend these for doing this.

Trapp in locum, à fallo ad jus non valet argumentum, no more in that case then this, *J. G.* was a Rebel therefore, *J. H.* might be so too.

And for the other, *viz. David*'s raising an Army in his own defence, is no argument for Subjects to take up Arms against their King; to pursue him from place to place, to sequester, plunder, imprison, arraign, sentence, and in fine to murther him. As these were the steps of their March, or of the March of their Army which were raised (as he pretends) for the defence of their Country. If he call this a defensive, I confess, I am yet to learn what an offensive War is. In a sense indeed it may be called so, as *Catiline*, so famous in History for Treason and Conspiracie; proceeded still further, heaping up Treason upon Treason, (the last to defend and secure himself from the deserved vengeance of the first) whose saying it was, *The mischiefs*

The second urged to as little purpose.

Scelera sceleribus tuenda. Tacit. *Catalina's* and their War alike defensive.

I

I have done, cannot be safe, but by attempting greater; so these by the Conscience of their guilt (which in their conceit was beyond all hope of pardon) were hurried on from bad to worse; conceiving themselves still unsafe; so long as there was one alive of that Royal Race, that might bring them to an account, and adjudg them the reward of their Treason and Rebellion.

To these examples, which I may justly except against, (as to the purpose for which they are brought) I shall oppose one which is beyond all exceptions, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ blessed for ever, who submitted to the execution of a most unjust sentence, without the least opposition or resistance; whereas he might have commanded more then twelve Legions of Angels for his rescue: *who was oppressed and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a Lamb to the slaughter, and as a Sheep before the shearer is dumb, so he opened not his mouth*, &c. whose sufferings were not only meritorious, but also exemplary, leaving us an example thereby, that we that bear his name, should tread in his steps, and suffer any thing rather then resist Authority. In imitation of whom, and for whose sake, those good Christians of old were killed all the day long,

One example of more force then all his allegations, had he made use of a thousand more.

Mat. 26. 53.

Isay 53. 7.

long, and were accounted as sheep for the slaughter, as sheep indeed they were; because slain without resistance: whose examples, if we oppose in our practice, in seeking to save our lives by such unwarrantable ways we may well expect to lose them. *He that resisteth, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and shall receive to himself damnation.* Whereas if we lose our lives for his sake, we shall save them; if our temporal lives, we shall be savers, yea great gainers, we shall have eternal life for them; which is so far from being a loss, that it will prove an happy exchange.

Occidebantur sine reluctatione.

Mat. 16. 25.

Rom. 13. 2.

Where there is this fear, there will be also fidelity, in defending and maintaining the life, state, dignity, and honour of the King: and in discovering Treasons and Conspitacies against him. *Mordecai* was a true pattern of Loyalty, who overhearing *Bigthan* and *Teresh* muttering out some treasonable intentions against *Ahasuerus* their Liege Lord and King, incontinently made a discovery of it. Delay he knew well in a business of that nature, might prove very dangerous, and every minute it had been concealed, would have administred to the ripening of their design, and the endangering the Kings life. The thing being known to *Mordecai*, he told

2. Duty comprehended in this of Fear, Fidelity.

Mordecai a Loyal Subject.

told it to *Heſter* the Queen, and ſhe certified the King; who making inquiſition, found it to be true, and gave them the proper reward of Traitors, hanged them both on a Tree.

Hiſtr. 2.22, &c.

So was *Abiſhai* when *Shimei* affronted *David*.

This made *Abiſhai* ſo ready to revenge *Shimei* his reproachful language againſt his Lord and Maſter King *David*, *Suffer me to go and take off the head of that dead dog*. This made the men of *Judah* cleave ſo faſt to him, when *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri* made an inſurrection, headed a Party, and at length drew all *Iſrael* after him; theſe willingly offer themſelves, and are liſted under the conduct of *Joab* his General: who by their help purſued the Traitor to *Abel*, ſets before it batters the Walls, and denies all peace to the Inhabitants, till they had taken off his head, and ſent it by him to *David* for a Preſent. *A man of Mount Ephraim hath lifted up his hand againſt the King: deliver him only, and I will depart from the City*, &c.

And the men of *Judah* in *Sheba*'s inſurrection againſt him, liſting themſelves under *Joab*, and adventuring their lives to bring that Traitor to Juſtice.

2 *Sam.* 20.

Jehoſheba in ſecuring *Joaſh* from that *Athalian* Maſſacre.

This made *Jehoſheba* to ſecure *Joaſh* the ſon of King *Ahaziah*, when *Athaliah* to make way to, and confirm her ſelf in the Throne, made away all the reſt of his off-ſpring. This heir apparent he hides ſix years in the Houſe of the Lord, at the

end

end of which time (when that ſhe Tyrant thought all had been her own) he aſſembles the Governours and Captains, acquaints them with the unexpected news of a young King, preſerved by a ſtrange kind of providence, placed a ſtrong guard about his perſon, ſet the Crown upon his head, and ſecured him in his Throne: which when that bloudy *Hell-hag* and *Fury* ſaw, ſhe cries out Treaſon, Treaſon; he well knew who was the Traitor, and accordingly gave order to the Captains and Officers for her execution, who ſoon put a period both to her claim and life. *Chryſoſtome* tells us no Nation is ſo careful of their King as are the Bees; if he be ſafe they all agree, but if he miſcarry they fall all into confuſion and devour their honey: when either Age or Accident hath taken him from his wings, he is carried up by the crowd, and when he dies his Subjects die alſo.

Chryſoſtom ſends Rebels to the Bees to learn Loyalty.

Fidelity is a duty of that conſequence to the ſafety of a King, and ſo conſequently of his whole Kingdom, which is at a great loſs in the loſs of a good King; that to enſure it, they uſed in the times of the Old Teſtament, to tie their Subjects with the ſacred bond of an Oath; which is at this day in uſe both in our own and other Nations,

A Duty neceſſary to the Kings ſafety.

Oath of Allegiance no late invention.

Nations: which was thought a ſufficient ſecurity, when Oaths were made more conſcience of. Some have thought potent Arms the beſt, as *Nero* in *Seneca's* Tragedies. But 'tis not with men as among Beaſts, where the ſtrongeſt head the Herd, and bear the ſway; 'tis Vertue not Violence eſtabliſheth a Princes authority, whoſe beſt and moſt faithful Guard, are his own Innocence and his Subjects Benevolence; without which the greateſt they can place about their perſons, will hardly exempt them from perpetual fears, and renders them more like Priſoners then like Princes. As *Plato* ſometime ſaid of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, when he ſaw him environed with his, *what evil haſt thou done, that thou haſt ſo many Keepers?*

Ferrum tuetur Principem.

Quid tantum mali feciſti, ut ità à multis cuſtodiaris?

He that is truly Loyal will not ſtick to hazard his own, if that he can preſerve his Soveraigns life. Like that noble *Hubert* of St. *Clare* mentioned in our *Engliſh* Chronicles, who at a Siege interpoſed his own perſon between his King and danger: and lodged that deadly Arrow in his own breaſt, which was levelled at that Royal mark.

Hubert of St. *Clare.*

It was our Saviours inference upon that ſuppoſition, which both were occaſioned by *Pilates* queſtion, *Art thou the King of the*

the Jews? My Kingdom is not of this World: if it were then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to mine enemies: which if well weighed, would stop the mouths, and tie up the hands of those who are so apt to rebel against the Kings of this World, under pretence of enlarging the Kingdom of Christ, which is not of this World, and therefore needs none of its weapons, either to support it, or to augment it. God would not allow *David* (because a Souldier, a man of bloud, though all that he shed was by virtue of Gods Commission, and in fighting his battels (except that of *Uriah*, which he before repented of, and had received his pardon for it) to build him a Temple, which was but a type of that spiritual Kingdom. That was a work reserved for *Solomon* that peaceable King, and so the fitter to typifie the Prince of Peace. Christ had an Army, but it was made up of Martyrs; Subjects that did strive to defend him and his Kingdom: but they did this by laying down their own lives, not by taking away the lives of others; who fought with weapons, not carnal, but spiritual; such as were mighty through God for the pulling down the strong holds that Sin and Satan had erected in the hearts of men.

John 18. 33. v. 35.

This nulls the pretended Commission of those Millenaries of the last Edition, who have listed themselves of his Life-guard, under pretence of setting him on his Throne, who professeth himself no temporal Prince, and disclaims all title to an earthly Kingdom.

What Army this King had.

What weapons they fought with.

His Conqueſt great, and yet without Sword or bloud.

It was the ſingular glory of that Kingdom of his, that it planted it ſelf without a Sword, and made a conqueſt of the World without bloud. It was his Fathers promiſe, that upon his Sons asking, he would *give him the Heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts for his poſſeſſion.* A large proffer of vaſt Territories, of a Crown and Kingdom worth the having; but he muſt win them before he can wear and enjoy them. When he came into the World to take poſſeſſion of this gift, he found all its inhabitants ranked under two heads of diſtinction, *Jews* and *Gentiles.* The firſt refuſed him, owning no King but *Cæſar*, *Joh.* 19. 15. The other ſtorm and rage at him, *The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves together, and the Rulers take Council together againſt his anointed:* and it was almoſt the general cry, *We will not have this man to reign over us.* So that in the judgments of men, it was a thing impoſſible for him to erect ſuch an univerſal Monarchy, when there were on all ſides ſuch great oppoſitions; what were his firſt followers and afterward co-workers, but poor ſimple illiterate men, fitter for Plough-men then Orators.

How unlikely, when ſo many oppoſers.

Joh. 19. 15.

Pſal. 2. 2.

A ſhort Character of his Life-guard. *Potius Aratores quam Oratores.*

When *Abſolon* ſought to wreſt the Scepter out of his Fathers hands, he depraved

praved and maligned his Government; and with subtil promises, and courteous deportment, insinuated himself into the affections of his Subjects. *O that I were made Judge over Israel, that every man which hath any suit or cause, might come unto me, and I would do him justice: and when any man came nigh unto him to do his obeysance, he put forth his hand, took him and kissed him: so Absalon stole the hearts of the children of Israel.* And when *Cyrus* the *Persian* designed to subdue the *Lacedemonians*, he promised large rewards to his Souldiers. He that will serve me in this expedition, if he were a Footman I will make him an Horseman; and he that had an Horse, shall have a Chariot; if he were owner of a Village, I will give him a Town; if of a Town, I will give him a City, yea a whole Country, besides Gold in abundance. But what were the Arguments that this King gives to his? They must forsake Parents and Children, Lands and Livings, Life and all. Who could expect that ever he should gain a Subject, whose promises were threatnings, and his perswasions dissuasions? What Arguments can we use more effectually terrifying to a person that values his Friends, his Livelihood

Absolons fawning policy.

2 *Sam.* 15. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Cyrus his large promises to his Souldiers.

Quicunque mihi militabit, si pedes est faciam equitem, &c.

Plutarchs Apothegm.

Christs to his.

Cujus pollicitationes minæ, cujus suasiones dissuasiones.

or Life? Or what could he have threatned worſe to his greateſt enemies? Yet notwithſtanding their zeal was ſtrangely fired by a kind of *Antiperiſtaſis*, and they boldly ſet upon the work, and after they had made ſome ſmall beginning, their King is betrayed into the hands of his mortal enemies, arraigned, condemned, crucified, and themſelves diſperſed and hid, and ſcarce any one of his Subjects durſt to own him; ſo that in all outward appearance his life and kingdom had both the ſame period.

Vincendo moriantur, moriendo vicit. Du. Pleſſis.

Some pay dear for their Victories, purchaſing them with the loſs of their lives; but this King conquered by dying: who (maugre the malice of his adverſaries) raiſeth himſelf from the dead, according to his promiſe; rallies his routed Diſciples, gives them a new Commiſſion, and within the ſpace of a few years extends his Dominion from Sea to Sea, and from one end of the Earth unto the other. He did, doth, and ſhall reign, *till he have made all his foes his footſtool.* That learned Author proving his Deity againſt both *Jews* and *Gentiles* who oppoſed it, waving ſeveral other Arguments makes uſe of this chiefly; ſo that he being ſuch a King, had no need of armed Subjects to fight in his

He conquered by dying.

defence,

defence, who could, and did, without a Sword drawn, only by a word or two ſpoken, make his enemies give back, and fall as dead men on the ground, as if ſome Thunderbolt from Heaven had ſmitten them. Neither was it any terrifying Anathema, but only a ſhort and plain acknowledgment, *I am he.* I cannot well paſs by *Calvins* application of thoſe his words, and of their ſtrange effects: *viz.* Hence we may collect how horrid and terrible his voice ſhall be to the wicked, when he ſhall aſcend his Tribunal to judge the World. He ſtood then as a Lamb to be ſacrificed, and as to outward appearance had emptied himſelf of all his Majeſty; and yet with a word ſpeaking, his enemies though many, and armed with ſwords and ſtaves, fall to the ground. If ſo terrible now, how terrible then, when he ſhall come again, not to be judged, but to judge! not in an abject and contemptible manner, but in his heavenly glory, attended with his holy Angels, when his heart-breaking, *Go ye curſed*, ſhall tumble them, not onely to, but alſo into the Earth, (if Hell be in its center) and that irrecoverably. Thoſe recovered their fall again, but when this doleful ſentence is once paſſed, it ſhall never be revoked.

John 18. 6.

Hic colligere oportet quam horrenda & formidabilis futura ſit impiis vox Chriſti quando tribunal ad judicandum orbem aſcenderit. Stabat tunc agnus paratus ad victimam, &c.

Ab inferno non datur redemptio

When once in Hell there is no redemption. What needed either Legions of armed men, or of Angels to defend such a Kings person; who as he made all, was able to destroy all with a word. Such a Kingdom (as was his) needed no such means to support it. But suppose my Kingdom were as other Kingdoms are, then would my Subjects fight? They would, not of courtesie, but of bounden duty. It is but equity that the hand which receives direction from the head, should (if need requires) yield protection to the head; in the body natural, it is so, and should be so in the body politick. Yea, how many loyal hearts have hazarded, and some of them lost their lives and fortunes upon this very account: who though they succeeded not in their aims, have not failed of their reward.

A Christian and a Souldier may meet in the same person.

I shall not waste time in answering their Arguments against the Doctrine of Oaths and Arms, requisite for the testifying and engaging a Subjects Fidelity to his Prince, of which he cannot have too great assurance, who have opposed the pretended unlawfulness of both: because they are sufficiently answered by more able Pens, but best of all by their own practices; who were very free to

Anabaptists Arguments against Oaths and Arms overthrown by their own practices.

give

give the beſt aſſurance, and to proffer their beſt aſſiſtance for the ſupport of an uſurped Power in liew of that accurſed toleration they enjoyed under it; and queſtionleſs would be as free again if occaſion ſerved upon the ſame account: So that theſe ſcruples now appear clearly to proceed rather from Deſign then Conſcience; the pretended tenderneſs whereof, ought rather to be prudently ſuſpected, then charitably indulged.

Latet anguis in herba.

Neither ſhall I ſpend any upon thoſe, who ſcrupling neither, and making no conſcience of either, care not to whom they ſwear, nor for whom they fight: but will as ſoon, or ſooner engage againſt their lawful King for half a Crown in ſilver, then with him for a whole Crown of Glory. Theſe have little of the fear of God before their eyes; and there is little hope they will entertain loyal thoughts in their hearts towards his Vicegerent.

Pearls muſt not be caſt before Swine, which prefer husks to treaſure.

What I have to ſay more of this Duty, I ſhall direct to thoſe with whom my advice may probably find a more effectual acceptance; ſuch as fear both, that they take care, and make a conſcience of their Fidelity. And though ſome cannot, others may not (unleſs upon very urgent neceſſity) fight for him; yet all may, yea all

ought to be faithful to him in their ſeveral and reſpective ſtations. His ſafety conſiſts as much in a multitude of faithful Counſellers, as of valiant Souldiers; and as much in ſome mens words as in others ſwords.

Non licet Miniſtris Eccleſiæ arma gerere; in caſtris eſſe poſſunt & debent, non ut pugnent ſed ut doceant milites, P. Martyr Loc. Com.

Our late pious King of bleſſed Memory, was firſt preached to death in the Pulpit, before he was put to death on the Scaffold. Had not the tongues of ſome Jeſuited Incendiaries been ſo ſharply invective, the ſwords of their Proſelites had not proved ſo fatally keen, as firſt to ſubdue his Power, and afterwards to aſſaſſinate and murder his perſon.

Pulpits turned into Canons.

Good Counſellors.

Prov. 12.20.

Thoſe Counſellors that would bring joy to their Prince, themſelves, and their Fellow-Subjects, muſt be Counſellors of Peace. The Counſel which thoſe Youngſters gave to *Rehoboam* when his Subjects petitioned for a relaxation from his Fathers former heavy impoſitions: (*Thy Father made our Yoak grievous, now therefore make thou the grievous ſervice of thy Father, and his heavy yoak which he put upon us lighter, and we will ſerve thee. The young men which were brought up with him, ſpake unto him, ſaying, thus ſhalt thou ſay unto them, My little finger ſhall be thicker then my Fathers loins; and whereas my*

Youngſters too raſh for ſo grave an imployment.

1 Kings 12. 3,4,9,10,11.

Father

Father did load you with an heavy yoak, I will add to your yoak. My Father hath chaſtiſed you with whips, but I will chaſtiſe you with Scorpions.)

Such counſel as this I ſay might probably fill his own Coffers; but withal empty his Subjects Purſes of their Coin; and, which was worſe, their hearts of all true affection towards him. For the very next piece of news we hear, is of a ſad revolt of ten of the twelve Tribes; who no ſooner had received their anſwer, but they ſhew their diſlike, firſt by a ſeditious murmur, and then by a rebellious mutiny, and laſtly by a final reſolution to caſt off his Government: *what portion have we in David? neither have we any inheritance in the ſon of Jeſſe. To your Tents, O Iſrael; ſo Iſrael rebelled againſt the houſe of Iſrael unto this day.* A more pernicious piece of Counſel they could not have given, had they been deliberately reſolved upon his ruine.

A ſad conſequence of evil Counſel.

V. 16.19.

A like raſh piece I have read of, given to *Frederick* the 2. Emperour of *Germany*, when diſtreſſed for want of money to pay his Army; who thereupon ſends for *Petrus de Vineis*, an able Stateſman, to adviſe with him about an expedient to recruit his Treaſury. Who counſelled him

Petrus de Vineis his Counſel to *Frederick* the Emperour.

to

to seize into his possession the *Plate* belonging to the Churches and Religious Houses, to melt it down and coin it into moneys. This he did accordingly, but it proved very fatal, answerable both to the subtle design and hearty desire of him that gave it; who studied more his own revenge then his Princes good, as appeared clearly by his own confession. It seems that this person had been formerly his Secretary, and for some misdemeanour had his eyes bored out by his command. This he resolved with himself, so soon as opportunity should offer it self to be his Second, effectually to requite: and meeting with this so fit for his purpose, makes this Devillish use of it, and returning home to his Wife with a great deal of joy, told her, now I am even with the Emperour for putting out mine eyes; having put him upon such a project which I hope he will pursue to his own destruction; he hath made me a spectacle unto men, but I have made him a Monster unto God. The Treasures of such sacrilegious wickedness profit nothing: and holy things greedily devoured will prove a snare, and those that have made trial of it, have to their cost found all the properties of a snare in it: It hath surprized suddenly, held them surely,

Revenge witty.

The fruit of Sacriledge.

Prov. 10. 2. C. 20. 25. *Dan.* 5. 25,30. *Acts* 5. 5,10. 1 *Macbab.* 9. 2 *Macbab.* 3. *&c.*

surely, and destroyed them certainly.

The Magistrates, I mean inferiour ones, must execute Justice impartially, lest he that is the chief suffer through their corruptions: *For the Kings throne is established by righteousness.* Magistrates. Prov. 16. 12.

The Minister must be a publisher of Peace, and not a Trumpet of Sedition, a Repairer not a Promoter of the Breaches in his Native Kingdom; a Restorer of Apostates to, not a Seducer of Loyal Subjects from their Allegiance. And all his Liege People, must resolve with faithful *Ittai*, in what place their Lord and King shall be, whether in life or death, there to be also. This is to discharge the duty of faithful Subjects, and no more then what the Text in effect enjoyns, when it calls upon us to fear the Lord and the King; where there is fear there will be fidelity. Ministers. All good Subjects, *Ittais*. 2 Sam. 15. 21.

Secondly, There will also be Charity, in extenuating, hiding, and covering their faults and infirmities. And this is a Duty so essential to Christianity, that a Christian and Charitable are *termini convertibiles*. And whereas all other Vertues are compared unto clothing, this is resembled to the upper garment for its largeness. For others are not so ample, some concern only The second Duty, Charity. Christian and Charitable are *termini convertibiles*. Other Duties compared with it, but fall short of it. An upper garment for largeness.

only our ſelves, as Faith, &c. *The juſt ſhall live by his Faith,* (*i.e.*) his own not by anothers: they may poſſibly fare the better in externals for the righteous mans ſake. Chriſt in his Form of Prayer hath taught us to pray for others. His Apoſtles in their Symbol or Creed, that each man muſt believe for himſelf. There are ſome of a larger extent, as Patience, and Long-ſuffering, &c. but theſe relate only to perſons injuring and provoking; this to all perſons, of all conditions, ranks, qualities, and qualifications whatſoever.

For Ornament

Other Garments are uſed for neceſſity, to ſecure the body from parching heat and piercing cold, ſome for decency and ornament, to cover the ſhame of our nakedneſs; but oftentimes the uppermoſt is uſed for diſtinction; ſo this of all other Graces, diſtinguiſheth a Chriſtian from him that is nothing ſo, or from him that is ſo only in profeſſion. *By this ſhall all men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye love one another.* Many admirable things may be found in a man, which without this have only the ſhadow, not the ſubſtance of Vertue, and make them that have them only nominally not really ſuch; and ſo conſequently nothing worth in themſelves, nor to them. O how great a

For diſtinction.

Joh. 13. 35.

Multa miranda poſſunt in homine reperiri quæ ſint charitate ſimilitudinem pietatis habent, ſed non veritatem. Proſper in Epiſt. lib. de lib. Arbit.

Vertue

Vertue is Charity! whose absence frustrates the presence of all others; and from whose presence it is that they have the proof of their truths and substance, as St. *Austin* excellently. It is that which sets the rest a working, as the Spring of a Watch sets all the Wheels a going; it will make men patient and bountiful, to bear all things, believe all things, hope all things; and as many branches proceed from one root, so many Vertues from this one of Charity.

1 *Cor.* 13. *ut multi arboris rami ab una radice prodeunt, sic multæ virtutes ex una charitate generantur.* Greg. Hom.

A Garment of that largeness as that it will cover a multitude of sins, and makes the strong to tolerate the infirmities of the weak, and to *bear one anothers burdens.* Certainly he that laid this precept of Charity upon all, with directions to practise it towards all, without either exception or distinction; would have them to be free towards those, whose conditions require the greatest share; such as have most temptations, and fewest restraints. When our Saviour was upon the Pinacle of the Temple, the Devil tempted him to cast himself down headlong: and the higher a mans standing is, as to Power and Authority, the more earnest is that subtil enemy to procure his fall. The Rich live in continual danger of the Spoiler, whereas the Poor

God hath allowed Kings their share of it as men; and their condition requires a very large one; as Kings they have more temptations. Simil.

Poor sleep securely. Princes and Commanders are chiefly aimed at in the Battle, because they yield the higher ransom; and the lostiest Mountains are most exposed to the violence of boisterous Winds and Storms. *Satan* that envious man, as he is stiled in the Scripture, lays closest Siege there, where his hoped for success will yield him the greatest advantage.

The old Serpents subtilty.

Regis ad Exemplum, &c.

The example of a King is of great force to work his Subjects into a compliance with his practices. Such lofty Cedars fall not usually alone, but drive down before them such lower, lesser, and weaker Trees as grow up under them. If he be any ways noted for Vice, they will look upon his example as a licence to do the like. It is said of *Jeroboam*, that he made *Israel* to sin, and yet we read of no Furnace erected, nor of any affrighting torments threatned to make them fall down and worship the golden Calves which he had set up. Indeed there was no need of any such; his own exemplary practice was as forcible as any pœnal Law, to sway them to the same idolatry. And for remedies, who sees not that their Subjects are better supplied then themselves, having the benefit of Discipline and whol-

1 *Kings* 14.16.

How *Jeroboam* made *Israel* to sin.

They have fewest remedies of any men.

some

ſome Laws as a Bridle to keep them from ſtumbling, and as a Curb to check them when they are ready to fall: whereas they have riches, and honors, which by one are very aptly ſtiled faculties of miſdoing. And many inſnaring Paraſites, who like thoſe about *Dionyſius*, will even lick up their ſpittle, and proclaim it to be as ſweet as Honey. Who for a reward will beſtow the guilding of the rotteneſt Poſt: and though wicked *Ahabs* will make them ſeem to themſelves to be faithful *Abrahams*. Fair-ſpoken Flattery highly applauds, and kindly ſalutes all, cries them up for eminently vertuous, that are tranſcendently vitious; calls prodigal perſons liberal, and covetous ſparing and wiſe; Laſcivious, Courtlike, &c. whoſe tongues are as charms and chains to bind men in their ſins: when they are ſo far from being rebuked, that they are praiſed, and ſo conſequently incouraged. Few there are of that undaunted courage, as to tell *Ahab* that his ſin troubled *Iſrael*; or *David*, *Thou art the man. Is it fit to ſay to a King, thou art wicked? and to Princes, ye are ungodly? Where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may ſay, why doſt thou ſo?* Inſomuch that it is a ſpecial mercy of God to many Princes, and to their Subjects

Many Paraſites.

Adulatio blanda omnibus applaudit, omnibus ſalve dicit: prodigas vocat liberalis, &c. Caſſiod. in quadam Epiſt.

Few faithful Monitors.

Job 34. 18.

Eccleſ. 8. 4.

jects in them, that they do ſo well, having no more to withſtand temptations then the fear of God.

What uſe Princes ſhould make of this.

The conſideration of all which, as it ſhould provoke them to double their circumſpection, becauſe Satan againſt them doubles his diligence; well knowing that a ſingle fall may run them into a double guilt, a guilt of ſin, and of evil example; by the firſt whereof they interrupt their own peace; and by the other poſſibly may ruine thouſands: ſo it ſhould teach this charitable Leſſon to the other, *Chriſtianly to compaſſionate, and not maliciouſly to upbraid their infirmities: weighing their temptations with their conditions.*

What their Subjects.

It is confeſt the Law was given to, and hath as great an obligation on them, as on their meaneſt Vaſſals; and the ſwerving from it, either in omitting what that requires, or in committing what that forbids, is as much, and in ſome ſenſe more a ſin in ſuch, then in ordinary perſons; yet being compared in the aforeſaid reſpects, their plenty of ſolicitations and ſcarcity of reſtrictions; we may ſafely extenuate that in them, which we may freely aggravate in others. As thoſe that are great in Power ſhall be greatly

greatly tormented, especially when they abuse that Power of theirs, to sin with the greater freedom; so their reward shall be the greater if they rightly use it: and shall as far excel their Subjects in glory hereafter, as they do in Vertue here, where (being accountable to none under God) they might take to themselves so much liberty to sin.

Sicut Potentes potenter tormenta patientur; sic & justitiæ præmiis fruentur plenius, si recte exercuerint potestatem & tantam in futuro præ subditis habebunt gloriam quanta virtute tos in magna delinquendi licentia præcesserunt. Chrysost. lib. de Curia.

So that I must ingeniously confess, I have scarce charity enough to judge charitably of those who were so uncharitable to their Soveraign, as we have lived to see a generation of *Chams* black Issue, uncovering their Fathers nakedness. So dealt they with our martyred King, slandering the footsteps of Gods Anointed, putting the worst construction upon his best actions, turning every stone almost that lay between his Cradle and his Grave, ransacking all the transactions of his life, that related to his Government, and blazing them abroad, exposing his personal infirmities to publick view on purpose to render him odious to his people. He himself full well foresaw whitherto all this tended, when he tells us it was a necessary preparation to the taking away his life. For where that is the end which is aimed at, those usually are the means by which it is

This applied to the shame of *Chams* black Issue.

Kings Meditations.

brought to pass. And yet for all this, his name lives, and his memory is precious, when that of his implacable enemies stinks and rots with their Carkasses.

P. 194. *Noahs* infirmity (as he very excellently) was no justification of *Chams* impudence. And as that unnatural fact of his rendred him accursed, both in himself and his posterity; and should terrifie all from doing the like, and being the chief design of Gods recording it in Sacred Writ; so hath he proposed that of his two other sons to our imitation; that when by any sin (as who lives and sins not) these Fathers of ours expose their nakedness to publick view, to turn away our eyes, and going backward, cover it with the mantle of Charity. As that good Emperour *Constantine* sometimes said of Bishops, the spiritual Fathers of the Church, that if he should find one of them committing Adultery, he would rather cover that unclean act with his Royal Robe, then that others should behold it.

Better Patterns for us to follow, *Shem*, *Japheth*, *Constantine*.

The Common practice of some, taxed as unchristian.

How ill becoming is this to confessed Christians, to over-look their Vertues, and fix their eyes only on their Infirmities; enquiring into, and making so narrow a search

ſearch after their failings, and rejoice as much therein, as thoſe that find the greateſt ſpoil. Thus while they behold the mote that is in their eye, they conſider not the beam that is in their own; and while their Oar is in anothers Boat, they run the hazard of ſplitting their own bottome.

That obſervation of a learned Father hath very much of truth in it: They that are ſtill curiouſly prying into the lives of others, are for the moſt part very negligent in reforming their own. How unlike are theſe mens actions to Charities deſcription? which neither thinketh nor wiſheth evil. And had they but the leaſt grain of that which every true Chriſtian (*quatenus* he is a Chriſtian) ſhould be fully fraited with; inſtead of preying upon the frailties of their Governours (the beſt whereof are but men, and therefore ſubject unto errours, as the beſt of men are) they would pray for them, yea and become moſt importunate ſuiters at the Throne of Grace, for Gods continual preſence and aſſiſtance, without which they cannot ſtand upright. Which leads me to the next, which is,

Qui curioſi ſunt ad inveſtigandam vitam alienam plerumque deſidioſi ſunt ad corrigendam vitam ſuam. Auſtin Confeſſ. lib. 10. c. 3.

Pſal. 146. 3.

Humanum eſt errare.

The third Duty, *viz. To pray for them.* The third Duty.

In those constant publick Offices of Devotion, which St. *Paul* wills *Timothy* to be careful of, and to see all the Clergy under his jurisdiction should be so too; he puts in his Bill of remembrance, to mind them for whom he would have them pray.

First, For all men in general, *i. e. for all sorts and conditions of men; but more especially for Kings, and all that are in authority.* Not in hypocrisie, as the Magicians did for their *Nebuchadnezzar*, *O King live for ever*; when questionless they wished in their hearts that he, and all such Tyrants as he was, were rooted out of the earth.

How we must not pray for them.

1.

2. Nor out of flattery, as those *Chaldeans* that accused *Shadrach*, *Meshac*, and *Abednego*, who prayed for the same King in the same words.

Such Prayers fruitless, as to their matter.

For however to pray for Kings is said to be acceptable to God, yet these are not the prayers that God will accept of; and that upon this very account, because they are the prayers of such and such, those of the first; he hath professed they are an abomination unto him. And the other there is as little of probability that he will hear their prayers, when he hath threatned to destroy their persons. But such as come from

Sinful as to their subject.

Abominable as to God.

from the heart out of conſcience, upon the ſcore of Duty: as *Daniel* prayed for *Darius*, who but a little before had caſt him into the Den of Lions. So did the Primitive Chriſtians for Heathen perſecuting Emperours; that God would grant them a long life, a firm Empire, a ſafe Houſe, ſtrong Armies, a faithful Council, a good People, and a quiet World.

How we muſt. *Vitam prolixam, imperium ſecurum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum.* Tertul. Apol. c. 30.

Reaſons. *Prov. 21. 1.* *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water, he turneth it whitherſoever he will*: as men by Art can turn water out of its proper channel, and make it run againſt its ordinary courſe in nature, ſo God with eaſe through his Almighty power, can incline the hearts of Kings to this or that, and make them pliable to his pleaſure. Such a work he wrought upon the heart of *Eſau*, who had vowed the death of his brother *Jacob*; inſomuch that at their next meeting, his threats are beyond expectation turned into kind embraces; and in ſtead of a ſtab, which he feared, he received kindneſſes, which he admired: confeſſing freely (as well he might) that *he ſaw the face of God in his brothers countenance*; owning that happy reconciliation as the work of God alone; and a convincing Argument of his, as well as of his Brothers favour towards him.

The Metaphor explained.

Exemplified in *Eſau*.

Gen. 33. 10.

Practised with good success.

Upon this very account Gods own people, whose lot it was to live sometime under the Government of Pagan Princes; when they attempted any thing of concernment, wherein the consent and assistance of the Higher Powers was required, importuned God to give them flexible hearts, as the only way to make their designs successful. So did *Nehemiah* for the repairing of *Jerusalem*, whose Prayer is recorded in these words, *O Lord I beseech thee let now thine ear be attentive to the prayer of thy servant, and to the prayer of thy servants who desire to fear thy name, and prosper I pray thee thy servant this day, and grant him mercy in the sight of this man.* What wonderful successes have we read of their fervent and effectual prayers, in their strange escapes from those destructions they have been doomed to, by such decrees as by custom of that Nation wherein they lived were unalterable.

Nehem. 1. 11.

A wonderful effect of it, in the defeating *Hamans* Decrees.

The *Jews* were so by the false and malicious accusation of *Haman*, in point of revenge for *Mordecai*'s disrespect; who when he heard of it, applies himself presently to *Hester*, who was highly in the King her husbands favour, and conjures her with promises and threats to improve

Mordecai conjures *Hester*.

the

the utmoſt of her intereſt. A buſineſs of a high concern it was, and ſuch as carried in it a great deal both of difficulty and of danger. Of difficulty in it ſelf, in regard of the immutability of that Commiſſion, which under the Royal Signet was iſſued out againſt them; of danger to her, if her endeavours ſucceeded not; there being a Law in force to put any to death that ſhould come unto the King, who was not called. And what ground could he have to build any hopes upon an apparent hazard, and a very improbable and unlikely means to compaſs his project? Yet notwithſtanding all this, he knew that nothing was impoſſible to God; and that if he pleaſed, he was able to incline the heart of the King toward them for good; and to direct him to the uſe of ſuch means as whereby they might be delivered, and the bloudy deſign of their enemies fruſtrated.

Hſters diſcouragements from two conſiderable Topicks, difficulty and danger.

Upon this ground queſtionleſs it was, that one ſo earneſtly propoſed it, and the other ſo readily and reſolutely undertook it. Only as a preparative ſhe wills him to gather the *Jews* together, and faſt and pray for her and her good ſucceſs, and ſo reſolves to go to the King, which was not according to the Law, and if ſhe periſhed

Her courageous reſolution. *Hſter* 4. 11. 16.

The preparative Prayer, &c.

riſhed ſhe periſhed. Which ſhe did accordingly, and finding him in a pleaſant humour, ſhe looked upon it as a good omen, and a fit opportunity to deliver her Petition in behalf of her diſtreſſed People. Which he no ſooner read, but granted; (God putting into his heart) he now paſſeth a Decree for them, as he had done before againſt them; and thereby commiſſioned them, who by the firſt were deſigned for ruine, to take up Arms in their own defence. So that although the firſt was not, nor might not be revoked; yet by granting the latter, it fruſtrated the execution of the former; and being publiſhed in every Province, their enemies were poſſeſſed with ſuch a Panick fear, that in ſtead of deſtroying the *Jews*, many of them turned *Jews* to ſecure themſelves: and others that attempted to ſlay them, were in great numbers ſlain by them, to the great joy of the *Jews*, and the terrour of their Enemies: teaching us that are Chriſtians, and ſubject to Chriſtian Magiſtrates, if at any time we lie under fears and preſſures: not to be our own carvers, or to fly to the uſe of unlawful means, but to wait upon God by faith, and ply him with our Prayers, who hath the hearts of Kings in his hands,

The happy conſequence of it.

Heſt. 8.17. Chap. 9.1.2. This recorded as other Scripture, for our Learning, and what is the Leſſon it teacheth us.

and

and will order and diſpoſe them ſo, as ſhall make moſt for his own glory and our good.

An example that will one day riſe up in judgment againſt the men of this Generation, and condemn it: who like Gunpowder, are ready to take fire from every little ſpark of diſcontent that falls upon their ſpirits, and to flame out into open Rebellion. Which it ſeems hath been for many Years, if not Ages, the cuſtomary ſin of this Nation. Inſomuch that *Maximilian* the Emperour paſſing his cenſure upon four great Kingdoms, *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, he ſtiled himſelf a King of Kings; the King of *Spain*, a King of Men; the King of *France*, a King of Aſſes; and the King of *England*, a King of Devils; becauſe of their readineſs to rebel upon the leaſt occaſion, which they learned from the Devil, who was the firſt Rebel in the World, and the father of all the reſt, which have been ſince the beginning of it to this very day. So that were it only to avoid the ſcandal, and to prevent the diſhonour, and to eſcape the curſe which Rebellion bringeth with it, and draws after it; an ingenious people would rather ſuffer any hardſhip then take up Arms againſt their King.

What to be expected by them that refuſe to learn it.

Maximilians cenſure.

Rex Regum.
Rex Hominum.
Rex Aſinorum.
Rex Diabolorum.

The laſt which concerns ours the worſt, but too true to be denied.

The

Prov. 18. 10. *The name of the Lord is a strong Tower, the righteous runneth to it and is safe*: whereas they that stand upon their own guard, and are resolved to make their own Swords the only remedy of their conceited grievances: saying with the Heathen, *Timidis & ignavis opus esse auxilio divino.* Cowards and slothful people only need Gods assistance; may justly expect to perish in their unwarrantable ingagements: especially against such a Prince who was so far from passing a decree for their ruine, that he gave all the security they could desire (yea much more then what many of them did deserve) to ensure them the free enjoyment of their Religion, Lives, Liberties, and Estates.

Besides the ground before mentioned, and upon which the persons aforesaid acted this duty, and by its Virtue and prevalency so happily succeeded and prospered; there are several other very material and weighty considerations which call upon us for the constant and conscionable practice of this duty: as,

2. Reason. Secondly, The burden that lies upon them in respect of their Calling and Office. A burthen which *Jethro* saw lay too heavy upon *Moses* his shoulders; Exod. 18. 18. *Thou wilt* (saith he) *surely wear away, for this thing is too heavy for thee: thou art not able to per-*

perform it thy ſelf alone: Therefore adviſeth to chuſe ſuch and ſuch perſons, ſo and ſo qualified, and *place them to be Rulers over thouſands, and Rulers of hundreds, and Rulers of fifties, and Rulers of tens, that they may judge ſmaller matters, and ſo bear the burden with thee.* A great power and command they have indeed, which is honourable and glorious; but it is ſo only, and then, and no otherwiſe makes them which have that power ſo, when they uſe it to the benefit, ſafety and welfare of thoſe for whom they have received it. That is a pernicious power that is only uſed, or rather abuſed for the injury of others; I ſay abuſed, for as the Philoſopher hath it, Government was not ordained for injury, but for benefit. The cares of Government are ſo many, great, and weighty, that many have voluntarily ſequeſtred themſelves from thoſe publick imployments, to enjoy the quiet of a private life.

V. 20.21.

Magnæ vires gloriæ decorique ſunt ſi illis ſalutaris potentia eſt, nam peſtifera via eſt valere ad nocendum. *Senec. de Clementia, &c.*

Ἡ ἀρχὴ μὴ εἰς ὕβριν ἀλλὰ εἰς ἐυεργεσίαν χορηγηθεῖσα. *Ariſtot. ad Alexand. M.*

Pericles the *Athenian*, after he had governed forty years, exchanged his Court for a Cottage: and having obtained his *quietus eſt*, he wrote over his Portal this Diſtich in the Margine: which ſounds thus much in our Language, *I have found an harbour, adieu hope and fortune, Ile have no*

Inveni portum, ſpes & fortuna valete, nil mihi vobiſcum, ludite nunc alios.

no more to do with you: make your sport now of whom you please.

Their Titles speak their Cares, *viz.* Fathers, Shepherds.

Their very Titles hint unto them what they must expect, and what will be expected from them. *Fathers of their Country*, which calls upon them for care, as well as upon their Subjects for respect. *Shepherds*, to feed, defend, watch over their Subjects: for these are proper actions that have such under their charge. *In the day the drought consumed me, in the night the frost; and my sleep departed from mine eyes*: so said *Jacob* when he kept the sheep of *Laban*. The very same commendation that *Homer* gave to *Agamemnon* for his care of those rational sheep which he governed, that his sleep was never sweet, pleasant nor quiet. They are Heads, and we know that the head, as it is the emblem of Government, so it is the seat of care. They are *Watchmen*, *Keepers*, *&c.* all importing the very same, their care therefore being so great, and their burden so ponderous; they have need of other shoulders then their own to bear it. yea, all must some way or other put to their helping hand; Judges and inferiour Magistrates by way of participation upon their authoritative delegation; and every one by way of sympathy,

Gen. 31. 40.

Agamemnons vigilancy. Ὑλόκορος. *Homer. Iliad.* 10.

Heads of the People. Watchmen. Keepers, *&c.*

thy, and by the united ſtrength of their fervent Prayers.

And methinks the common intereſt that their Subjects have in that care, ſhould enforce this as a common duty incumbent on all who are concerned; as all are in thoſe things which they are chiefly to take care of.

Subjects have the benefit of their cares, and are concerned in all thoſe things which they take the care of.

As firſt, of Religion, that we may lead godly lives; this is a chief part of the Magiſtrates care. *Solomon had a Vineyard in Baal-Hamon, which he hath let out to husbandmen*; among which Kings are the chief. 'Tis hedged about by their authority and power, and the ſtrength of their wholſom Laws; whereby the Evil are awed, the good encouraged, and the intereſt of the true Religion promoted, which ſuffered ſadly in the times of our Confuſions, fell into ſo many pieces, and thoſe pieces into ſo much dirt and rubbiſh, that it requires an induſtrious and exquiſite Artiſt, firſt to gather up each piece, and to joyn it into one whole and entire ſubſtance. So many Harlots there were that laid claim to that lovely Babe, each one crying, *it is mine*, that he had need of the wiſdom, as well as the power of *Solomon*, to find out the true Mother. Such havock the wild Bores and ſubtle Foxes

1 *Tim.* 2. 3.
As firſt Religion.
Solomons Vineyard a type of the Church.
Cant. 8. 11.

The ſad influence our confuſions had upon our Religion, repreſented by way of alluſion.

Foxes made in the Vineyard, when God for our Sins was so far incensed as to remove its Fence, and lay it waste; that it will require a great deal of time and patience to brink it into its former order, and as much of pains and care to reduce it into its ancient beauty and fertility. So many *Sanballats* and *Tobias's*, some secretly undermining, others openly opposing the repairing the Walls of our *Jerusalem*, that our builders had need be men of courage, and to hold their Trowel in one hand and their Sword in the other: and while those who have evil will at Sion, are some of them repining, and others scoffing at it, *what do those feeble folk do? will they sacrifice? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burnt?* 'Tis requisite all good Christians and good Subjects should be upon their knees, praying God to strengthen their hands, and prosper their work, and turn the reproaches of our enemies upon their own heads. *Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but in vain that build it.*

Nehem. 4. 2.

Psal. 127. 1.

Secondly of Justice.

The second is the care of Justice; He must *put on righteousness as a garment, and judgment must be as his robe and diadem; he must be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame,*

Job 29. 14, 15, 16, &c.

lame, a Father to the Poor; must search out the cause that he knows not, must break the jaws of the wicked, and pluck the spoil from between his teeth. He must be like the stately Tree in *Nebuchadnezzars* dream, *the leaves whereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and it was meat for all; the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.* How heartily doth *David* pray for himself and his son *Solomon*? that God would give his judgments to himself, and his righteousness to his son: *then shall we judge the people with righteousness, and the poor with judgment; the Mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills by righteousness; he shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and break in pieces the oppressors, he shall come down like rain upon the mowen grass, as the showrs that water the earth.* An excellent description of a King, and an encomium of Justice, from the happy fruits of its faithful and impartial administration.

A King compared to *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree. *Dan.* 4. 11,12.

Davids Prayer for, and excellent description of Justice, both as to the efficient cause, and the effects of it.

Justitia Regis pax est populorum, tutamen patriæ, immunitas plebis, munimentum gentis, cura languorum, gaudium hominum, temperies aëris, &c.

Much like unto it, if not borrowed mostly from it, is that of *Cyprian*, The justice of the King is the peace of his Subjects, the safeguard of his Country, the Franchess of

of

of his Cominalty, the rampire of his Kingdom, a sovereign remedy of all grievances, the joy of men, the temperature of the Air, the serenity of the Sea, the fertility of the Earth, and the hope of his own future bliss and happiness.

That Prayer an implicite Confession.

And is not that Prayer of his an implicite confession, that he can neither do it, nor his Subjects reap the benefit of it, unless God give him his judgments. This granted, then, and not untill then he shall do as he said he would do. And doth not *Solomon* acknowledge as much, when God put him to his choice, and promised him whatsoever he would ask? if it were *long life, riches, or the lives of his enemies*? He waves all these, and pitcheth upon Wisdom; *Thou hast made thy servant King, and I know not how to go out, or come in, and thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a great people which cannot be numbred, nor counted for number; give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge so great a people*? The ground of his choice was the difficulty of managing the Regal Power, to those advantages as would best answer Gods trust, and his Peoples expectations.

So is his son *Solomons*, for Wisdom above all.

1 *Kings* 3. 5.

The ground of that choice.

It

It is questionless (as *Nazianzen* long since observed) an Art of Arts, and a Discipline of Disciplines, to govern Mankind; in whom there is such variety of manners, and diversities of wills above all other creatures in the World besides. And if justice be not duly administred, what horrid consequences will there unavoidably follow upon its neglect? Disorders would be countenanced which should be suppressed, Oppression thrive and prosper, which should be extirpated; Peace banished, which should be cherished; and Gods judgments pulled down upon our heads, which might be diverted. Therefore we had need take to our selves words, and go to God for them: and we cannot make use of more concise and pithy ones for them, then those of *David*, wherewith he prayed for himself in that *Psalm* before mentioned.

Revera mihi videtur esse ars artium, & disciplina disciplinarum regere hominem, qui certe est inter omnes animantes maxime & moribus varius & voluntate diversus. M. Apol.

Thirdly, The care of their Subjects peace and quiet lies upon them: [*That we may lead quiet and peaceable lives.*] Indeed the very end of Civil Government is the peace and prosperity of the Subject, which is very much secured by their careful endeavours to prevent inbred tumults and commotions, and foreign incursions and invasions; whereby it comes to pass

Thirdly, Peace.

End of Civil Government.

many times that their Subjects are enforced to eat the food both of their souls and bodies, with the peril of their lives. Now as the Pilot propoundeth to himself the prosperous course of his Ship, the Physician the health of his Patient, the Captain victory over his enemy; so the good Governour seeketh the welfare and prosperous state of those under his Government: to which that blessing of Peace hath such a direct tendency, that all outward blessings are usually wished under the name of it, as being virtually comprehended in it. Such is the good of Peace, that among all created things, no news is more pleasing, nothing more desireable, nothing more profitable can be possessed and enjoyed. And as the soul of man doth not enliven the members of the body, unless they be united to the body; so neither doth the spirit of God (which is the very soul of the Church) enliven any member of it, that is not united to the rest in the bond of peace and love. A blessing which this Nation for many years enjoyed under several of her peaceable Princes, even to the admiration and envy of her neighbours, who were forced to cry *Miserere* with a doleful voice, when she might sing *Te Deum* with a chearful heart.

Simil.

The excellency of that blessing.

That of *England* the admiration and envy of other Nations.

heart. Which had ſhe done, ſhe might have had continued unto this very day, without the leaſt interruption. But becauſe ſhe did not, but abuſed her peace, by uſing it as a weapon wherewith to fight againſt the God of her peace, he taught her by many years ſad experience to know the worth of it by the want of it, and how for the future to value the mercy of Peace by the miſery of War. She unthankfully beſtrid, and unworthily ſlighted a peaceable Prince, and therefore deſerved to be doomed by an irrevocable decree to the Government of devouring Storks: as *Jupiter* did the Froggs in the Fable. Yet God in mercy hath heard her Petition, and contrary to her deſervings, hath removed thoſe Birds of prey, and hath ſent a Dove, a *Solomon* to reign over her, who hath had juſt cauſe to take up the complaint of *David*, *My ſoul hath long dwelt with them that hate peace; I am for peace, but when I ſpeak they are for war. Let them proſper that love and ſeek the peace of Jeruſalem: and ſcatter thou the people that delight in war.* Theſe three bleſſings are the ground upon which the Apoſtle preſſeth this duty of Prayer for thoſe that are in Authority: and if they flow down from Heaven upon us through their care,

Æſops Fable of the Frog morallized. Our *Jehovah* more merciful then their *Jupiter*.

*Pſal.*120.6,7.

as the fruits of our Prayers, and our Prayers be seconded with a life answerable to those mercies, we may conceive the firmer hopes of their continuance.

3. Reason from their temptations; wherein their Subjects are concerned either,

Now because these Guardians of our blessings are so liable to so many temptations, and amongst the rest to those sins whereby they may forfeit these blessings from us, and to those oppositions and strivings of wicked covetous and ambitious men, who will not stick to trample all these under their feet to advantage themselves, and work their own sinful ends and interests; it behoves us to pray as zealously against these, as for the other.

1. As to their Cause.

Against their temptations, and the rather because we may possibly be concerned in them, either as to their cause, or as to their effects; Subjects are many times the causes of their Sovereigns temptations. This is clear in the history of *Davids* numbring the People, and the sad consequents of that rash and unadvised act; which was so, in that he did it without any lawful cause; as two there were, upon which it was justifiable.

Exemplified in *Davids* sin, 2 *Sam.*24.

Two cases in which lawful. *Exod.* 30. 12.

First upon an Ecclesiastical account, as that which ye are directed to in the Margine, which was commanded by God himself in memory of his blessings, and

tended

tended to the redemption of their ſouls; as it ſerved for the maintenance of the Tabernacle, and the Miniſtry thereof, which was inſtituted for that very end and purpoſe. *In memoriam beneficiorum Dei. Gallas in locum.*

Secondly Political in a way of preparation to a War offenſive or defenſive; that ſo by numbring thoſe that are fit to bear Arms, Princes may be the better ſatisfied of their Subjects ſtrength, and furniſh themſelves out of thoſe numbers with ſuch ſupplies as are ſuitable to their occaſions. A device that always was, is ſtill, and ever will be lawfully enough made uſe of upon that occaſion. But *David* did it upon neither of theſe accounts; neither for the glory of God, that ſeeing his Subjects increaſe and multiply, and his own honour thereby advanced, he might give God his due praiſe, who was the author of it; nor for the ſafety of his Kingdom, which was then in no danger, being at peace both at home and abroad; but rather for oſtentation ſake, rejoicing, and which was worſe, placing his confidence in them. This ſin (whatſoever was the ground of it) highly offended God, and is ſeverely puniſhed with a ſweeping Plague, which in the ſpace of three days deſtroyed threeſcore and ten thouſand people.

He sinned and his Subjects are punished for it.

The sin was the Kings, the punishment falls heavy upon the Subjects, who for ought we read to the contrary, did not so much as desire it. His General shewed his dislike, and desires him by all means to desist from his purpose. Is not this according to the Proverb, *The Fathers have eaten sowre Grapes, and their Childrens teeth are set on edge*, Ezech. 18. 2? and to that of the Poet, *Kings dote and do amiss, and their Subjects suffer for their miscarriages.* *David* who was eminently (if not solely guilty) is not so much as touched in that Plague. The sin being his, in equity the punishment should have been so to. This is according to that ruled case, *the soul that sinneth shall die.* Yea, *David* himself, as conscious to himself, cries, *These Sheep, what have they done?* Done! Enough questionless, the most innocent of them, not only for God to plague him here, but to damn him forever hereafter. Sins though sometimes they may not be the moving cause, yet they are always a meritorious cause of judgment. No man lives and sins not, and the wages of the least sin is death: if any be pardoned, it argues the mercy of the forgiver, and not the quality and quantity of the sin forgiven.

Ezech. 18.2.

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi.

V. 12.

David excuseth them, and takes the blame upon himself.

Gods justice acquitted. 1. By a distinction.

But we need not fly to this distinction

in

in this case; for if we read the History deliberately, we shall soon be satisfied, that though *David* occasioned that Plague by his sin, yet their own sins were the cause of it. And that according to both these heads of distinction meritorious and moving too: *the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, to say, go number Israel and Judah.* By which it appears clearly that their sins (whatever they were that provoked God to anger) were the cause why God permitted *Satan* to tempt *David*, and with-held his restraining grace which should uphold him: so that he was both led into temptation, and left in temptation upon the account of their sins: and what influence theirs had upon him, that may the sins of any other Subjects have upon their Princes. Therefore it is equity as well as Piety, that they which lead them into temptation by their transgressions, should help them out by their supplications.

2. By a discovery of the cause of the sin.

2 *Sam.*24.1.

Applicat.

Secondly as to their effects. *Samuel* describing the manner of a King to the *Israelites*, tells them *he will take your sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots, some he would have to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest:*

2. As to the effects.

1 *Sam.*8.11,17

their daughters to be confectionaries, and for cooks, and bakers, and would take their fields, and vineyards, and olive yards, even the best of them, and give them unto his servants, &c. By which description he informs them, not what they should do according to their institution, but what they would, following their own corrupt inclinations. The Prodigal in the Gospel had many temptations to that loose and vitious kind of life to which he addicted himself, which brought him from his Fathers plentiful Table, to enter himself, first into the servile imployment of a Swineherd, and at last to enter himself a Fellow-Commoner with the hogs, and to feed with them upon husks, as this estate he was born to; for though he was not the heir, yet an expectant, though not of his lands, yet of his goods; whose share might amount to a considerable value: then his Fathers indulgence, it was but ask and have: but the greatest of all was his youth. So among all those that Kings are subject to: this is none of the least, that God hath made them Kings: who being subordinate to none other beside themselves, are accountable to none other but himself. If therefore they should degenerate from Nursing Fathers into oppressing

The Prodigal had several temptations, but the greatest was his youth.

Kings have many more, but the most powerful is that of their Kings place.

preſſing and cruel Tyrants; and make their own Wills their Law to govern by: like *Nebuchadnezzar*, of whom it is ſaid, *whom he would he ſet up, and whom he would he put down; whom he would he ſlew, and whom he would he kept alive*; If he ſhould apoſtatize from the true Religion and right Worſhip of God to Idolatry, as did the wiſeſt King that ever ſwayed a Scepter, what a ſad influence would the effects thereof have upon their Subjects Eſtates, Liberties, Lives, and what to a good man is more precious then any one of theſe ſingly, yea then all of them jointly, *viz.* his Religion. And therefore it behoves them as they tender their own good in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of all theſe, to intercede as powerfully as they can for Gods preſence with them, and for his grace which may be ſufficient for them, to incline their hearts unto his teſtimonies and not unto covetouſneſs: and alwavs to mind them, that as they received their power from him, ſo they muſt aſſuredly one day give an account unto him; that ſo their ſtudies and endeavours may be daily to improve it to Gods honour, their own comfort, and their Subjects benefit.

Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.

A ſuppoſition grounded upon a poſſibility.

And on that, ſad effects prognoſticated.

Inference.

Laſtly, Conſider the perils and dangers their perſons are expoſed to; upon whoſe well

A reason from external opposition.

Omni populo inest aliquid querulum & malignum in Imperantes. Quamvis id agas Princeps ut nequis merito te oderit; erunt tamen semper qui te oderint. Sen. ad Neron.

well-being and well-doing, their Subjects depend for all these. *Plutarch* tells us the People for the most part are malignant and querulous against their Governors, yea though they carry themselves never so unblameably, that none can have any just cause to hate them; yet there are some of that base nature that will do so, resembling the Dog which barks at the Moon in the clearest night, which proceeds from an innate enmity against all restraint; and no marvel, sith naturally men are very unwilling that God himself should reign over them. *The Lord reigneth*, saith the *Psalmist*, and what follows? *the People are stricken with a fear*, (so one) they are moved with fear, and so by that means are brought to own and acknowledge his power and soveraignty, (so others.) They are angry, and fret at it, (so *Mollerus*) quoting the sense of all the rest before his own, and leaving the Reader to take his choice of which of these he liketh best: So that I have liberty to take that which will serve as the best proof of my present assertion; which is safe enough and sufficiently justified by another place in the same Book: where we find the very same sort of people raging against the same thing, *viz.* Government, against the same Governor the Lord

Contremiscunt. Calvin. *Commoventur.* Fl. Jun. & Tremel. *Irascuntur, fremunt.*

1. They are in a great deal of danger from that innate dislike that is naturally in all men against Government.

Lord Jesus Christ. And how do they plot and consult, confederate, and all in opposition to his Laws, because somewhat harsh to flesh and bloud; enjoyning the mortification of all their evil and corrupt affections, newness of life and conversation, commanding the use of a good conscience in all their actions, and not allowing them to do the least evil for the greatest good: therefore they hate them, as men that prize their liberty hate bonds and imprisonment. And how easily men of this temper are to side with Rebellion, and to promote any traiterous or mischievous design, experience testifies.

2. From Covetousness.

Great danger they are likewise in by reason of the covetousness and ambitiousness of men, which as a pair of Spurs, prick those that are possessed therewith forward against all lets, makes them leap over all blocks, strain at no guilt, nor dread the threatning of any punishment. St. *Paul* saith, *The love of money is the root of all evil.* 1 *Tim.* 6. 10. And the Poet in his Satyrs inveighs against the covetous person that respects no Law, neither is there any fear or shame in him. Those wicked Husbandmen in the Gospel resolve upon murdering their Masters son, because he was an heir to a good estate: *This is the heir, come let us kill him, and then the inheritance shall be ours.* Luke 20. 14.

Quis metus aut pudor est unquam properantis avari. Juvenal.

The

3. From ambitious men.

Potestatis ambitio Angelica felicitate Angelum privavit. Scientiæ appetitus hominem immortalitatis gloria spoliavit. Evam promissi honoris ambitio illachrosa decepit. Epist. 116.

The like may be said of Ambition, which is but a furious avarice. Of which St. *Bernard* notably, *The Angels ambitious of power and soveraignty, deprived themselves of Angelical felicity. Adam* desirous to know more then his Creatour thought good to reveal to him, spoiled himself of the glory of immortality: and *Eve* was deceived with the bewitching ambition of promised honour; *In the day that ye eat thereof ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.* And all that they for the most part get for themselves, and the World by them who are infected with this incurable itch, is lively represented unto us in their Tragical History of ambitious *Phaeton*, whom nothing would satisfie but to guide the Chariot of the Sun; the consequences of whose rash and indiscreet attempt, were the turning of his brain, the overturning of his Chariot, putting the World into a flame, and was himself tumbled down headlong by a Thunderbolt into a River to cool his hot head, and teach him more wit. The common fate of such is, that when the wind of their ambition hath mounted them up to the top of Fortunes Wheel, they never descend but by a break-neck precipice. *Haman* tried it, and found it true to his cost; in one Chapter

Phaeton the proper emblem of an ambitious person.

Haman.

pter we find him promoted and advanced by his King to great honour, who had set his seat above all the Princes that were with him; in another he is fallen into his Lord and Masters displeasure; and at the end of that, we find him at the end of his ambitious race; fallen from honour to dishonour, from his Princes love into his hatred, from glory to shame; he lived the life of a Prince, but died the death of a Dog; being sentenced to be hanged upon that very Gallows which he had prepared for an honester man then himself; whom he while he was in his Ruff, deigned not to ranke among the number of his Slaves. Thus the righteous is delivered, and the wicked brought into his stead, he dug a Pit for his innocent brother, and is fallen into the midst of it himself. This is called a righteous thing with God, and is the same in the apprehensions of all rational men. Indeed that attribute of his is in matters of that nature highly concerned; and rather then an unnatural, aspiring, ambitious *Absolon* should scape unpunished (which his Fathers indulgence might suggest some hopes to him, that after he had plaid all his mad pranks he might do so, and from the charge which he gave his General concerning him when he marched against

Prov. 11. 8.

2 *Thess.* 1. 6, 7.

Nec lex est justior ulla,
Quam necis artificem tuge perire sua.

Absolon.

againſt him to reduce him, *deal gently with the lad*, together with the ſad Lamentation he made at the news of his death, gives us ſufficient cauſe to think that he would do ſo) the divine *Nemeſis* will it ſelf purſue the guilty Rebel, and make a ſnare with the hair of his own head in ſtead of an hempen halter, to truſs him up to the fatal Tree, where he paid down his life for his ambition, and all its miſerable attendants.

Ambition a ſtrange diſeaſe.

A ſtrange kind of diſeaſe ſurely this muſt needs be, whoſe malignity in ſome degree or other, is ſo epidemically infectious, and whoſe cure was thought by no mean or heady Phyſician, to be ſo difficult, that he projected a conſultation of all the Phyſicians in the World to adviſe upon the means thereof; and yet he himſelf was a man ſo famous in his generation for his great skill in that noble Science, that *Artaxerxes* hearing of it, ſent for him, and promiſed him great honours to live with him in the *Perſian* Court. He practiſed his own skill ſo ſucceſsfully upon his own ſelf, that he lived to a great age, having paſſed his hundred and fourth year: yet neither this Maſter of his Art, Faculty, or Science, (call it what ye will) no, nor all the Philoſophers 2000 years ſince him, could by all their

Hippocrates.

His fame.

Lived to a great Age. Could not cure this feaver by his Phyſick, nor all the Philoſophers with their Moral Rules.

their learning have found out an effectual expedient for this pestilential Feaver; in all they prescribed they have but lost their labour. Some Diseases make mocking-stocks of their Physicians, of which sort this is undoubtedly one which encreaseth under its prescribed remedies. One would have thought that if *Cambyses* had studied all his life time, and called in all the learned Counsel of the Sages then living in the World, he could never have found by his own reading, nor they have suggested by their advice, a more effectual means to keep that young President uncorrupt in that very place of Judicature, in the which he before had placed his Father, which he so lately by his miscarriages had forfeited together with his life then to keep that sad instance always fresh in his memory, and for this purpose commanded him to cover his Chair with his Fathers skin; who was executed and excoriated or flayed, because he was so ill a Judge; that being seated in that woful tribunal upon the blood of his Father, might learn more wit and honesty by a dreadful experience. What influence this politick, more then Christian project had upon him, my Author mentions not. But this we see too commonly, that some mens eys are so blinded

Some diseases *Medicorum labores.*

Cambyses his project.

Examples of others take so little with some, that they look on them as *inania parrorum terriculamenta*. Exemplified in our common Cutpurses.

ded, and their hearts so hardned through the deceitfulness of their sin, that others examples make no impression of terrour upon them. Have we not often heard of Cutpurses and Pickpockets, that have exercised their Art under the Gallows, where some before their eyes are ending their days for as inconsiderable a crime? And do we not ever and anon in our reading, both in Divine and Humane Story, meet with the like? who have had items enough by others harms to make them cautious, and yet have pursued the same ways, without fearing the like event: As that in the Book of the *Kings*, of the second Captain of fifty, sent with his Party to apprehend *Elijah*, more impudent and obstinate then the first, who he could not but know had a little before perished by a dreadful, and miraculous judgment from Heaven by fire consuming him and his to ashes; and therefore more deservedly underwent the same fate, and made an example; because he would take none.

The second Captain of 50. 2 *Kings* 1. 10, 11.

Richard 3. his Character.

In the Annals of our own Kingdom we have the History of *Richard* 3. who by common report was a Monster in Nature, born with his teeth, and exceedingly deformed in the composure of his body, which was a prognostick of what he would

prove

prove in his life, a monſter in wickedneſs. And ſo he did. Into what a Sea of miſchiefs did his boundleſs ambition carry him? Vilifying the honour of his own Mother, accuſing her as unchaſt; and that ſhe proſtituted her body to ſtrangers in the conception of his two elder Brothers, to make himſelf more legitimate then they. We find him there ſtand indicted of ſeveral Murders, taking out of the way all that oppoſed his deſires, either by death, or ſate and ſevere impriſonments. Of Fratricide, conſenting at leaſt to the death of his elder Brother. Of Regicide, ſtabbing K. *Henry 6.* when a Priſoner in the Tower. Beſides the baſtarding, depoſing, murdering his two innocent Nephews, whoſe Guardian (by wicked Policy) he had made himſelf, by the enforced conſent of thoſe who were concerned in the choice (they being in their minority) but durſt not oppoſe him. I call this Regicide, becauſe the elder was a King *in re*, the younger *in ſpe*, as being heir apparent to the Crown, had his Brother died without iſſue male before him. But this Monſter of men had uſurped the throne in their life time; and conceiving he could never be reputed, nor truly honoured as a King, ſo long as theſe were in his way, he ſent them out of this Kingdom

Charged with murder.

With Fratricide.

George D. of *Clarence.*

With Regicide.

Conceits himself firmly established. But is much mistaken. Haunted with the terrours of an accusing Conscience.

into a better. And now he thinks himself firmly seated, but he reckons without his host; and whoever peruseth the latter part of his History, will find his sin lying at his dore, yea following him at his heels, his Conscience facing him with a fresh representation of his guilt at every turn; and his disturbed fansie with terrifying visions and apparitions; so that while he lived he was as it were in Hell upon Earth. He had shed much bloud, and at last his bloud was shed in that Battle fought between him and his Successor, who had more right to the Crown then himself; wherein he fell a sad *victim* to his ambition, and a monument of Gods impartial justice to the World; whose Carkass being found naked in the Field, wounded, and filthily polluted with gory bloud, was cast upon a horse-back behind a Pursuivant at Arms, with his hands hanging down on the one side, and his legs on the other, like a Calf, and interred with as base a Funeral as he had bestowed upon his Nephews. Yet for all this I suppose none capable to read that History, can be so great strangers to the late transactions in our *Israel*, but may find his parallel in the bloudy Chronicle of our late Usurper; who though he drank not so large a draught of Royal bloud,

Slain and his dead Carkass slighted, and dishonourably interred.

Martins History.

Rich. matched with an *Oliv.* both Protectors, and both Usurpers.

bloud, (no thanks to his want of will, but opportunity) yet what he fell short in that, he made up as near as he could in noble and loyal bloud. Whom I cannot more fitly compare then to our desperate Hectors, who meeting with a rich booty, resolve to make a ful prey; and finding a ring that is unwilling to part with its right owner, cut off finger and all. So this bloudy miscreant aiming at the Crown, and supposing it impossible by any other means to make a Divorce between it and its Royal Master, traiterously took off that head that wore it. That bramble kingdom which he was about to erect, could not (as he supposed) thrive, unless watered with the Kings bloud. He that sometime used that expression, was not only so, but a Prophet also. And blessed be God that we have lived to that day, to see that those his following words have proved him so: *God will not suffer those men long to prosper in their* Babel, *who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.* How many upon this very account have been hurried out of the World by stabbings, poisonings, and other arts of Murder, both in our own and other Nations? besides those many Plots and Conspiracies, by the divine providence strangely disco-

A fit comparison.

The Kings Meditations.

vered, and through his bleſſing happily prevented, and made abortive; and that againſt ſuch a Prince, whom God hath ſo manifeſtly owned, ſo miraculouſly preſerved, and (to the admiration of his Friends, and the envy of his Enemies) ſetled in the Throne of his Fathers. *This was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. It is he that giveth ſalvation unto Kings, and hath delivered his anointed from the hurtful Sword. Therefore not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thine own moſt glorious Name be all the thanks and praiſe aſcribed.* This very conſideration now in hand, made *Tiberius* the Emperour refuſe the ſtile of *Pater Patriæ*, ſaying, all mortal mens eſtates are uncertain: and the higher their ſtandings are, the more ſlippery and dangerous are their conditions. Therefore being ſo inviroued and ſurrounded with dangers, they have the more need of their Subjects prayers, that God would protect their perſons, blaſt the deſigns, diſcover the Plots, and defeat the attempts of theirs, and therein their own enemies.

Tiberius refuſed the ſtile of *Pater Patriæ*, upon this very account.

Infer.

The fourth Duty comprehended in this of fear.

Rom. 13. 7. Pay him his due.

There is yet a fourth Duty remaining, namely this, *To pay readily and chearfully what they are legally charged with,* [*rendring tribute to whom tribute, cuſtom to whom cuſtom is due.*] Theſe are ordinary. Some there

are called extraordinary, required upon urgent and preſſing neceſſity. I ſay neceſſity, for good Princes will not impoſe unneceſſary payments upon their Subjects, but delight to have them rich and wealthy, rather then poor and needy. The Soveraignty of all appertains to Kings, but the propriety to private men: So that they have no power in juſtice and equity, to take away, or to ſeize any of their Eſtates, unleſs juſtly forfeited by their Delinquency. As appears clearly in the caſe of *Nabaoth*, who refuſed to part with his Vineyard. What arts were uſed to poſſeſs *Ahab* with it, are not unknown to any that have read the Scriptures; but when God called him to an account, he reckoned with him not only for a bloudy Murder, but alſo for an unjuſt poſſeſſion: *Haſt thou killed, and alſo taken poſſeſſion?* Their right of Soveraignty gives them a claim to ſo much as will ſupply their ordinary and extraordinary occaſions; what they require more, is not equity, but exaction. And as on the one ſide God will not allow the Subjects upon ſuch occaſions to rebel againſt their Prince; ſo on the other, he forbids them to enrich themſelves by impoveriſhing their Subjects. *Let it ſuffice, O Princes, remove violence and ſpoil, take away your exa-*

Diſtinction.

Nabaoths caſe.

1 *Kings* 21.19.

Deut. 17.17.

Ezech. 45.9.

Elions from the people. This hath proved the root and fountain of many inconveniences. This made that rent in *Rehoboams* Kingdom, which all his policy and strength could never heal again. God hath made them Shepherds not Butchers; and allows them for their care over his flock to fleece, but not to flay them.

St. *Lewis* his prudent advice to his son.

St. *Lewis* that good K. among other grave exhortations to his son a little before his death, chargeth him never to crave any Tax or Subsidies from his Subjects, but upon a very just cause and urgent necessity; and that if he did otherwise, he would not be reputed a King, but a Tyrant. What is requisite and necessary upon the former accounts, the Apostle calls their due: and Christ himself the things that are *Cæsars*: and *Ulpian* that famous Lawyer, the sinews of the Common-wealth, without which it cannot be governed, nor subsist. They are granted to them by the Laws of all Nations, and therefore the Duty calls more for practice then for proof. For notwithstanding they may challenge these by their Charter granted to them by the great God and K. of heaven and earth, yet many there are that part with what is required of them upon that score, as unwillingly as with their bloud: yea, when they were inevitably

Nervi Reipublicæ sine quibus non potest administrari nec consistere. Ulpian.

Applicat.

neces-

neceſſary, and that too by a neceſſity of their own creating, to ſatisfie thoſe debts which their former Rebellion, and the fruit thereof had contracted upon their baniſhed Soveraign; yet theſe were not paid without a great deal of murmuring and repining. Time was when *England* (like *Iſſacher*) was as an Aſs couching between two burdens, and contentedly bore them, plying her provender without noiſe or groaning; and ſeemed willing to purchaſe her quiet at any rate, under a Tyrant who made his Luſt his Law; but now ſnuffs at what is impoſed, not by a boundleſs Prerogative, but by that very authority which was of their own free election: like an ungrateful Beaſt, which being eaſed of a great part of his burden by the mercy of his owner, kicks and laſhes to quit himſelf of the reſt, being very willing that he ſhould bear it himſelf. All that goes this way is ſet down upon the account of their loſſes, whereas good Princes are like skilful and truſty Factors for their Subjects, expending their moneys to their own beſt advantage, and returning them trebly the worth of it in ſuch commodities which moſt wiſe men value. Or like the Sun, which by its attractive heat draws up vapours from the Earth (which may well be

England in the time of the late Uſurpation, like *Iſſacher*, and he like an Aſs.

But now like a proud pampered Horſe.

Good Princes like truſty Factors.

Apdy compared to the Sun

Custom, Tribute, &c. to Vapors.

spared) and returns them in fruitful showers: So the Tribute and Custom, the Taxes, and Impositions which the Higher Powers exhale as Vapours, by the force of urgent necessity, are richly exchanged into the sweet refreshing Rains of Peace and Plenty. And thus I have given an account of the particular Duties included and implied in this general one of Fear, as I found dispersed here and there in the holy Scripture. The next piece of work which I have to do, is to enquire after the subject, by whom it must be paid; which is every one that comes under the name of a Subject, whom *Solomon* here calls his son.

2. Part of the Text, viz. the Subject.

My son fear thou the Lord, and the King; who in a political sense is a Father; and in the same, his Subjects are his children: So that every one whom the King in that sense may call his son, he may upon that very account call upon him for this fear. The Apostles rule is general, and admits of no exception. He that goes about to except, endeavours to deceive; and where there is none excepted, there can be none exempted; unless that strange sense which is fathered upon *Origen*, concerning the word Soul, be Orthodox, namely, *a fleshly and carnal person*; which is a sense (of which I think I may safely say) that is ne-

Rom. 13. 1. *Qui tentat excipere conatur decipere.*

Origen his strange sense of the word soul.

For what taken in the Scripture.

ver

ver uſed in Sacred Writ. It is uſed indeed properly for the nobleſt part of man, which is of a divine extraction, and ſtamped with the glorious image of him that did infuſe it. Sometimes for the will and affections, by a *Synecdoche* of the whole for a part; and by the ſame figure the Soul, which is a principal part, is put for the whole man. God ſaith to the Prophet, that *the ſoul that ſinneth*, that is, that man or woman, whoever it be that ſinneth (if he repent not) *ſhall die*, which includes all; and ſo it doth here in the Text, Carnal and Spiritual, Saint and Sinner, and never is uſed to ſignifie a carnal in oppoſition to a ſpiritual perſon. *Ezech.* 18. 4.

We read in one of the Epiſtles of St. *Peter*, of eight ſouls that were ſaved in the Ark which *Noah* by Gods direction had provided againſt that Deluge, which he threatned to bring upon the old World for its daring impieties. Should we underſtand by thoſe eight ſouls, eight carnal perſons, (as we may upon as good a ground as in the other place) we ſhould make that which was one of the moſt remarkable pieces of Juſtice that ever was executed upon the World, the greateſt example of injuſtice. To deſtroy all the righteous, and let ſuch a number of wicked perſons eſcape; to ſend a Floud to drown *1 Pet.* 3. 20.

drown the one, and to provide an Ark to save the other.

Some put that sense upon it here, and offer their reasons.

I know there is a generation of men in the World, that are very willing to embrace that sense there, where subjection is required so universally without exception; and offer their ground for the exemption of themselves and others, which are at least in their own conceits *the holy and redeemed of the Lord.* Subjection say they came in by sin, but they are freed from sin, and so consequently from subjection; take away the cause and the effect must cease: Christ having freed them from the one, he hath freed them from the other also. By the same Argument they may as well dispute themselves out of the reach of death; for by one man sin entered into the World, and death by sin; so death hath seized on all for that all have sinned. Yet let them live as blamelessly and as innocently as they can, *what man is he that liveth and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave?* No man can attain to a life of sinless perfection till he is dead. Willing or nilling, this *Jebusite* will continue within thy borders: thou mayest keep it under, but canst not root it out. We may give sin its mortal wound, but its full and final expiration is reserved for the stroke of death.

I.
Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

Disproved.

Rom. 5. 12.

Velis nolis intra fines tuos habitabit Jebusæus subjugari potest, exterminari non potest.

death. As it was said of Riches the daughter of Religion, Religion hath brought forth Riches, and the Daughter hath destroyed the Mother; so Sin brought forth Death, and Death destroyed Sin. But although the reign of Death be universal, both over Saints and Sinners; yet there is a vast difference between death, as a curse, which is properly the punishment of sin; (and so it is to all impenitent sinners,) and death as it is by Christ altered, and changed from a curse into a blessing (as it is to the righteous) being a happy passage from a Vale of tears to a Paradice of joy. So is there between that servile subjection of the wicked for fear of punishment, from him who should not bear the Sword in vain, (which is a fruit of their sin) and that civil subjection of the righteous upon the score of Conscience, which is a blessing to that King that hath such Subjects; and will draw down the blessings of God upon themselves. Did every Subject carry such a Conscience in his breast, what quiet and peaceable lives should we live in all godliness and honesty!

Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem.

Distinction of death in reference to the righteous and wicked.

The like of their Subjection.

Formidini pœnæ.

But these men tell us further, That they are governed by the Spirit of God, therefore they need no other government; they are a Law to themselves, wherefore then should

Their 2. Reason.

Refuted, and the grand cheat discovered.

should they be under the Laws of men? We have a usual saying, *All is not Gold that glisters*, neither all men what they pretend to be. And most commonly they that are the readiest to make their claim, are the backwardest to prove their Title; whereas the greatest Saints have always acknowledged themselves the greatest Sinners. In the time of our Civil Wars, when the Canon Law was lowdest, and our Common Law was almost silent, these mens actions proclaimed them to the World, to be far from righteous persons; plundering, or in plain terms robbing others to enrich themselves: So that none stood more in need of Laws, then those that stiled themselves *The Godly Party*, and all others Reprobates. The best that are, or ever were upon the face of the earth since mankind was multiplied, could not but be sufficiently convinced of the necessity of good and wholsom Laws, both for themselves and others; for although they for their own part are guided by the free Spirit of God, and so want not the Laws of Men to compel them, yet they have need of them to secure them. We may safely suppose that they would not willingly wrong others; but cannnot but also imagine that others would wilfully injure them;

Inter arma silent leges.

them: and whoever he be that wrongs them, God hath tied up their hands fast enough from righting themselves; that is Gods prerogative, and by his designation the Magistrates office. And surely they have little reason to expect protection from them, who will yield no subjection to them. I shall therefore leave these Anarchical and Antinomian Spirits to the censure of S. *Aust.* writing upon those very words. *If any man thinks because he is a Christian, that he is not bound to pay tribute and taxes, and yield due honour to the higher Powers, he is in a great errour.* So then by every soul is meant every person. Time was when this exposition was admitted for Orthodox, and the duty accordingly owned and practised. So it was in *Tertullians* time; *We reverence the Emperour as next to God himself, and inferiour to none but himself, there is none above him but he that made him so.* Yea even in *Rome* it self, by its chief Bishop *Agatho*, who wrote in this stile to *Constantine* the then Emperour; *As your Clemency hath godly commanded us, according to the obedience we owe, we have sent these our fellow-servants.* But since they have pluckt their own necks out of the yoke, and set their feet upon the necks of Princes; they have found out a way, not

St. *Austins* censure of such.

Si quis putat quia Christianus est non sibi esse vtilgal reddendum aut tributum, aut non esse exhibendum honorem debitum, de iis quæ hæc curant potestatibus in magno errore est. Aust. in loc.

Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum, & solo Deo minorem.

Secundum piissimam jussionem mansuetudinis vestra pro obedientia, quam debuimus diximus presentes consumulos nostros.

not only to exempt themselves, but others also from their due obedience; pronouncing them excommunicate, and thundring out anathema's against anythat dare to own or assist them; proving himself to be the *Antichrist*, as S. *Paul* describes him; *who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God*: subjecting all Laws both of God and Man, of Nature and of Nations, to his own interpretation, dispensation, abrogation, how, to whom, and when he pleaseth. I shall conclude this with the saying of *Frederick* the Emperour to that proud Pope *Adrian* 4. whom he checks for his insolence, and sends him to Christ (whose servant he pretends himself to be) to learn him better manners. *Seeing Christ, both our Founder and yours, did take nothing of the King, but did pay tribute to* Cæsar *for himself and* Peter, *he gave you an example to do the like.* Every soul, or every one that hath a soul, so long as that soul is in his body (death only can give him a discharge from that obligation) must be subject to the higher Powers; so the Apostle. Every soul that is a son, and every son that is a subject, is the subject of this fear in the Text; he ows it, and must pay it,

2 Toess. 2. 4.

The close of this second part.

Cum Christus noster & vester institutor nihil à Rege accipiens tamen pro se & Petro censum persolvit exemplum vobis dedit ut vos ita faciatis.

it, both in the ſtricteſt and ampleſt acceptation to the King, who (next under God) is the object of it, and comes in the next place briefly to be conſidered.

My ſon fear thou the Lord, and the King. The King without any Epithite, good or bad; implying we muſt fear him, whether good or bad. His Title to this fear depends upon no other Title but that which he hath to his Crown. Not becauſe he is religious, wiſe, juſt, potent, and formidable, but becauſe he is a King; which he may be without any of theſe qualifications: and if he be ſo, whether he have any or none, he muſt be feared. They that honour him only for his own perſonal excellencies, honour him chiefly, not as a King, but as an ordinary perſon. The foundation of all that Duty which a Subject owes to his Prince, is not a perſonal, but a relative excellency; which is not confined to this or that King ſo or ſo qualified; but eſſential and common to all Kings, as they are Kings. It is not founded in themſelves, but in the relation they have to God. What a learned Divine ſaid of the Wives ſubjection to their Husbands, may be very well applied to the Subjects ſubjection to his Prince. She whoever ſhe be, that is a Wife, muſt know that

The 3. part of the Text, *viz.* the Object.

On what his Title grounded, both negatively and affirmatively.

Cogitet quælibet uxor viri dignitatem ſuamque inferioritatem non æſtimandam eſſe ex virtutibus, forma, nobilitate, divitiis, ſed ex ſola ordinatione divina, in hac fundatur mariti authoritas & ſubjectio uxoris quæ abrogari & mutari ex cauſis iſtis accidentalibus nec debet nec poteſt. Biſhop *Davenant in Coloſſ.* 3. 18.

that her Husbands dignity, and her own inferiority, take not their estimate from Vertue, Nobility, or Riches, but from the Ordinance of God alone. The authority of the Husband, and the subjection of the Wife, is founded upon that, and may not, nay must not be abrogated or changed upon any of those accidental accounts. There is indeed no other foundation that will support the honour due unto Kings firm and unshaken: for had it been said *Fear the King*, (*i. e.*) the King so and so qualified; if such qualifications be wanting, or be supposed to be wanting (as it always will be by some or other that are disaffected to his Person or Government) they would hereupon cancel all obligations of duty and respect to him, as we have found by late and sad experience. Therefore the most wise God foreseeing the mischievous consequences of such conditional Laws among men (who for the most part make not their own or others eyes, but their partial affections Judges in the case) hath enacted an absolute Law without any provisoes or exceptions, to prevent all occasions of publick disturbances, and pretences for rebellion. *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers*, so S. *Paul: Fear God, honour the King*, so S. *Peter*.

St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* call for it to all Kings.

And

And I am confident there is no other place of Scripture concerning this subject, but what is of the same nature with those, and this in the Text, which are as absolute and free from all conditional limitations, or restrictions, as possibly can be.

Who reigned when they wrote their Epistles.

Neither can it be imagined by any that have read any thing of Ecclesiastical History, that those Governours, whom they themselves, and those to whom they wrote their Epistles lived under, were every way so well qualified, that such proviso's were needless. They were penned when *Claudius* or *Nero* swayed the Scepters; the first of the two was the best; and that best bad enough: a Pagan, and an enemy to Christ and all true Christians. The last the Monster of mankind for all manner of wickedness; who set *Rome* on fire, and charged it upon the Christians: first making, and then taking this occasion, he persecuted them, and put them to sundry kinds of torments, causing some to be covered with Beasts skins, and to be worried by Dogs, others to be nailed to Crosses, others to be burned in the night, that the light of of those cruel Bonfires might qualifie the darkness thereof. And so unsatiable was this matchless Tyrants thirst after bloud, that he spared not his neerest relations, but

Claudius or *Nero*, a short Character of both.

put to death his Sister, his Wife, his Grandmother, yea his own immediate Mother *Agrippina*; whom after three several attempts by poison, proved insuccessful (by reason of her Antidotes and Preservatives, which continual suspition caused her to take) he sent *Anicetus* a Centurion to murder her; who with his companions brake open first the Gates of the City, and next the dore of her Chamber where she lay. It is reported of her, that when she saw there was no remedy but death, she presented her belly to the Murderer, and desired him to kill her in that part which had most deserved it, by bringing into the World so vile a Monster. In a word, he was a professed enemy to God and all goodness, famous for nothing but for infamy. Yet this one benefit the Christians reaped from this Viper, they looked upon his cruelty towards the professors of the Gospel, as a strong testimony of the truth of that Doctrine they professed, and he persecuted: *We boast and brag of such a famous persecutor, for they which know him may easily perceive that this our Doctrine had never been condemned by* Nero, *had it not been passing good.*

Tirtull. in his Apol. c. 5.

Yet as bad as he was (as worse he could not well be) those blessed Apostles call upon

upon his Subjects, Christians as well as Infidels, to honour him, and to be subject unto him. But upon what account? Surely not upon a score of gratitude for any favour received from him formerly, nor out of policy, hoping thereby to insinuate themselves and their fellow-christians into his favour for the future; if they did, they fell short of their expectations; receiving from him a sad requital for so great loyalty, so clearly manifested, not only by their personal and particular practice; but also by their general precepts, whereby they endeavoured to make all others of his Subjects as loyal to him as themselves. For not long after, under the self-same *Nero*, one of them was beheaded, and the other crucified. Questionless they saw so much of his wickedness with their own eyes, that they must needs think that God had given him to a reprobate mind, to commit all iniquity even with greediness, and to proceed from bad to worse, till he had filled up the measure of his sin: So that there can be no other reason given, why they should fear such a King, who was so wicked a King, the worst of Kings, yea the very worst of men, but this, because he was a King; and the reason of that, *because there is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordained of God.* Rom. 13. 1.

Rex ſemper honorandus eſt ſi non propter ſe, tamen propter ordinem. S. Auſt. de queſt. V. & N. Teſtam. *De Civitat. Dei lib. 5. c. 21.*

The King is always to be honoured, if not for himſelf, yet for order ſake; and for that Kingly Government is the Ordinance of God, though the Governour be never ſo wicked. He that gave a Kingdom to *Conſtantine* the Chriſtian, gave a Kingdom alſo to *Julian* the Apoſtate: If therefore he gave a Kingdom to an Infidel, his Subjects cannot with any colour of reaſon withdraw their obedience for his Infidelity. Which are the words of the ſame Father in another Book of his; and the *hypotheſis* and inference are a deſerving Prelates of our own Church. What a Spirit of Pride then rules in the heart of that man of ſin, who over-rules the Princes of the Earth, and takes upon him to excommunicate them at his pleaſure; and to abſolve their Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance to them; yea, to depoſe and damn them to the pit of Hell, for pretended hereſie. Who ſees not how diſſonant their Doctrines and Practices of this kind are to thoſe Apoſtolical rules, which were the undoubted off-ſpring of divine inſpiration! which tell us in effect, that no violence is to be uſed againſt the Supream Power; and that evil Princes are not to be curbed and reſtrained by Arms taken up againſt them, but by Prayers offered up to God

Davenant in Col. 4. v. 5.

The Duty applied againſt Papal Pride.

God for them. And their Subjects in such cases should arm themselves, not with weapons to oppose them, but with Arguments (if the will of God be so) to suffer by them; of which there is a great plenty in the Scripture, which might have been very well spared, if God had allowed them any other remedies. That tells us *if we suffer in a good cause, we suffer for a Kingdom.* And although all the afflictions of this present life, are not worthy of that glory which shall be revealed (it were high pride and presumption to lay claim to it upon that account) yet God is pleased to account such sufferers worthy of that Kingdom for which they suffer; which is such a Kingdom as will sufficiently countervail all the losses that we can possibly undergo it. Let me be hackt and hewed to pieces, burned and consumed to ashes, so that I may escape suffering hereafter, (said a Martyr.) If for being spared, how much rather upon condition of being crowned for ever with glory: he would be a gainer to purpose by his sufferings, if when his Persecutors took away a temporal life from him, God should give an eternal life unto him. *Seneca* said, *Of all that we can suffer here, if they seem long, they are but light; if they are grievous, they can be but short, sith*

Hic ure, hic seca ut in æternum parcas.

Si longa levia, si gravia brevia. Seneca.

life it self cannot be long. And one of better principles (that was his contemporary, and as some affirm, of his acquaintance also) saith the same, but with a great deal more of comfort and encouragement, *viz. That our light afflictions which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory: while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.* And he that once rebuked *Peter* to his face, cannot (I conceive) be guilty of any great presumption, if he question his pretended successor, what he hath to do to judge anothers servant, sith he stands or falls to his own Lord? especially such a servant as was his rightful Soveraign; servant in a Scripture sense, only to him who is Lord of Lords. Let him search the whole New Testament over and over again, and when he hath done it twice, let him do it ten times more; and let him shew if he can, where any of that rank and condition have been excommunicated: they may be admonished, rebuked, advised, and that with discretion too, observing their distance, not otherwise. And those whom Christ the King of Kings hath placed in his

2 Cor. 4. 17, 18.

S. *Paul* that once rebuked S. *Peter*, brought in as questioning his pretended Successor.

his ſtead on Earth, he hath reſerved their final ſentence to his own more righteous judgment.

The matter being ſo clearly ſtated, by ſuch infallible Authorities as aforeſaid, what may we think of that great *Diana* of our late Reformers, the *Solemn League and Covenant*? one of the chiefeſt limbs whereof, concerning the Civil Magiſtrate, is ſo down right lame, and ſo ſuitable to thoſe *Romiſh* principles, that were we not well ſatisfied in what part of the World it had its original, we might ſooner have gueſſed it to have been contrived rather by a Conclave of *Popiſh Rabbies*, then by thoſe who pretended themſelves *Divines* of the more refined and reformed Religion. It makes proviſion for the Kings Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, as to the ſecurity thereof; but how, or how far? *Quamdiu bene ſe geſſerit*; ſo long as he behaves himſelf well, and no longer. He muſt ſtand to all intents and purpoſes in the nature of a Probationer, *durante vita*; and if they diſlike him, he is a King but *durante bene placito*, during their pleaſure; or at leaſt till they can find an opportunity to unking and dethrone him. *In the defence of the Proteſtant Religion*, there is the condition; ſo that if the King

The Solemn League and Covenant examined.

The Article which concerns the Kings preſervation, conditional.

be wanting, or be ſuppoſed to be wanting in the defence thereof (as he will always be ſuppoſed to be by ſome Sect or Faction) they then conceive themſelves (as well they may) from that condition, abſolved from any obligation that that Covenant lays upon them (as Subjects) to protect and defend him as their Soveraign; becauſe it binds them ſo to do, only upon that condition and not otherwiſe. Yea, they will be ready to think themſelves thereby firmly engaged to their utmoſt to oppoſe him. To honour him for fear is ſervility, to do it for our own benefit, to work our ends upon him, is ſelf-love; and to do it with a reſerve or an implicite condition, is in plain terms, no other then implicite Rebellion. The actions of its Authors, were the moſt authentick Comment upon their own Act; who had no ſooner brought his Subjects into that ſnare, but they baſely defamed the King as favourer of Popery; and an Army is levied to force him to a redreſs of their pretended grievances; which amounted to no leſs then the unkinging of himſelf; the rooting out (ſo far as they could) that ancient Government of Epiſcopacy, and the introducing a *Linſey-Woolſey* one in its ſtead, (as a learned Prelate

The Authors actions the beſt Comment upon their own Act.

late ſometime called it,) which when he preached that Sermon, had not ſeen the age of a man, threeſcore and ten; and the delivering all thoſe to the ſpoil, who meerly out of Conſcience adhered to him.

Biſhop *King* in his Sermon before King *James* at *Hampton-Court*, *Cant.* 8.11.

From whom they learned this, or what hand guided that pen, or what head-piece inſpired that Party that inſerted that Clauſe, is eaſie to gueſs; not Chriſt but Antichriſt; not *Paul* one of his Apoſtles, but *Bellarmine* one of the Popes Cardinals; who tells us in plain terms and down right language; *If Princes endeavour to turn their people from the faith, they may and muſt be deprived from their Government: and Chriſtians are bound not to ſuffer ſuch a King to rule over them.* And that his Doctrine might be ſwallowed with the more eaſe, and the leſs ſtraining, he way-lays that objection, grounded upon the contrary practice of the Primitive Chriſtians; telling us (but moſt falſly) upon what ground they did it; which the Author of that peſtilent Pamphlet (fit only to make Subjects for the Prince of Darkneſs) hath borrowed from him, and made uſe of it upon the like account, *viz.* *If the Chriſtians of old did not depoſe* Nero, Diocleſian, *and others like to them, it is becauſe they wanted power.*

That clauſe taken out of *Bellarmin.*

Anticavaleerism.

power. And this that Author calls a sufficient answer.

It is a thing more facile then proper for this my purpose, to discover more then this one flaw in that Politick Engine; which some have chosen rather to part with their livelihoods then renounce; though enjoyned to do it by a more lawful Authority, and upon far better grounds, then that by which, and those upon which it was first imposed. It is the joint resolution of all sound Casuists, that sinful vows are more safely broken then kept; and being rashly and unadvisedly made, they bind to repentance, not to performance: which if our dissenting Brethren of the Clergy, had well well weighed and considered, the Church might have received more benefit by their labours, and themselves more comfort by their obedience. For how much soever they seem by their selected Texts for their Farewel Sermons, to please and solace themselves in their sufferings upon such and such accounts (as if they had left all to follow Christ) yet they cannot but know, that such Texts have no more of comfort in them (at least will yield no more unto them) then their sufferings have of compliance with their Texts.

The resolution of the best Casuists concerning unlawful Vows, &c.

What

What a ſad miſtake will it be, if it ſhould prove in the winding up, that in ſtead of leaving all to follow Chriſt, they have left Chriſt to follow their fanſies, or the dictates of an erroneous Conſcience; and have oppoſed, yea preferred their own private reputations to the publick peace of the Church. For mine own part I do much more commend the prudence of thoſe Noble Senators, who (in regard it had bewitched ſo many Subjects into a Rebellion againſt their Soveraign) have paſſed upon it its proper doom, *to be burned to aſhes.*

This applied to reſtine our judgments.

But I leave them and come to our ſelves, who are inſtructed from this part of the Text, that all the fore-mentioned Duties which Subjects owe to their Princes, are due and payable to them, as they are ſo. A Leſſon very neceſſary for us all to learn exactly, to remember it carefully, and to practiſe it conſcionably. Many are throughly convinced that they are juſtly due to, and highly deſerved by good Princes, that are tender Fathers of their Country, indulgent Nurſes of the Church, faithful Shepherds of the People, vigilant Keepers of the Peace, careful defenders of Juſtice, and impartial protectors of innocency: They readily pay them

Arbor honoretur cujus nos umbra tuetur.

them to the fruitful Vine that delights them with her lovely clusters, to the benefical Olive that enricheth them with its pleasing fatness, to the spreading Tree that yields them shadow from the heat, and fruit for their hunger; but to do it to the scratching Bramble, that fleeces and draws bloud from them, to a Tyrant that turns Justice into Wormwood, that persecutes and dismembers, that pulls down and destroys at pleasure, that makes a Land an *Acheldama*, a *Field of Bloud*. *This is a hard saying, who can bear it?* But what saith St. *Austin*, *Government is not put into such mens hands, but by the providence of the most high God, when he judgeth them for their great impieties to deserve such Governours.* God hath an especial providence in appointing Kings, and disposing of Kingdoms; Promotion is neither from the East, nor from the West, nor yet from the South; but *God pulleth down one, and setteth up another.* The God of Heaven gave *Nebuchadnezzar* a Kingdom, *Power and Glory.* And what a King that was, I think none can be ignorant that are not strangers to the holy Scriptures; which describe him to be a cruel enemy to Gods people, spoiling them of their substance, plucking them

Malis dominandi potestas non datur, nisi summi Dei providentia quando subditos judicat talibus Dominis dignos. De Civit. Dei lib. 5. c. 21.

Psal. 75. 6.

Dan. 2. 37.

them out of their habitations, and carrying them into a miserable and tedious captivity. He was the rod of Gods anger, wherewith he scourged that sinful People the Jews, together with their Kings and Princes; commanding them that they should serve him, and pray for him; and if they did not so, he *would visite them with Sword, Famine, and Pestilence.* He gives good ones in love, evil ones in anger; they all come under that distinction: if they are of the first sort, we must honour and obey them chearfully; if of the worser sort, we must endure them patiently. *If the spirit of him that ruleth rise up against thee (whether thou give him any just cause for it or not) leave not thy place.* By which Phrase we are to understand defection from the duties of our place; meaning, that Subjects may not for any injuries received, from him with-hold any thing that is due unto him; though he should cease to do the duty of a King, they must not cease to do the duty of Subjects.

Jer.27.6. 29.7.

Per loci desertionem ab officio defectionem intelligit. Cartwright in locum.

This what I have here imparted with a great deal of weakness (as to the managing of it) is with as much sincerity as to the truth of it. Neither have I herein designed any secular advantage to my self, but have faithfully revealed what hath been

The conclusion of the Treatise.

been taught by *Solomon*, yea by Christ a greater then *Solomon*, *vivâ voce*, when he was on Earth; and by his Apostles since his ascension into Heaven. I know there have been some who have perverted this piece of Gospel Doctrine, which St. *Paul* so clearly taught, not dreading in the least his Apostolical Anathema. I have a great deal of confidence that this may come into the hands of some that are not otherwise minded. And for those that are, and seek to pervert others, they shall bear their judgment whoever they be. And so I shall close with that caution which the Author gives in the latter part of this, and in the ensuing Verse; to avoid familiarity with, but more especially, seduction by the seditious that are given to change; for so they are described by their levity that makes them so; and with his argument drawn *à malo pœnæ*, from the evil of punishment; which usually attends both the seducers and the seduced, which is both sudden and severe; it begins in calamity, and ends in the ruine of both: *My son fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, for their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?*

Gal. 5. 10.

FINIS.